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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 405



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CHINA REPORT  
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PARTY AND STATE

NEED FOR PARTY MEMBERS TO TOLERATE CRITICISM EMPHASIZED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Guo Jidon [6753 4949 2639]: "Work Hard and Tolerate Criticism"]

[Text] A certain unit has an outstanding party member known for his willingness to work hard. He is also not interested in gifts that have been delivered to his door, nor interested in eating free courtesy meals already served on the table for him. In a matter of less than a year, he has rejected money and other gifts more than 50 times. One day when someone accused him of "pretending to be an activist who never wants to do anything for nothing," he still continued to do business as usual and in a way that ended up convincing his critics of his sincerity. There is another party member who arrived in his office early every morning to clean voluntarily spittoons, move garbage to its receptacles, and do other dirty chores. One day when this voluntary service prompted someone to criticize his conduct as "a publicity stunt," he felt very upset, and depressed, so depressed that he had to quit. These two cases indicate that it is truly not very easy to require Communist Party members to work hard and tolerate criticism.

Endurance of hardships reflects an indomitable spirit of action. In other words, one must have an inexhaustible enthusiasm for work, fear neither hardships nor sacrifices, and do everything possible to fulfill tasks assigned by the party. Tolerance of criticism means willingness to act as an unknown hero who will never mind whether his achievements are recognized or not, and who can humbly accept criticism, if he made mistakes. He can also patiently listen to criticism and complaints which are at variance with facts, and can correct mistakes, if he has made any, and can guard against them, if he has not. True, it is hard to endure hardships, and harder to tolerate criticism. Some of our party members have been found to be able to "endure hardships" but unable to "tolerate criticism." They are willing to work hard, but hate being wrongly criticized. If they are not commended for what they have achieved, they would feel that they have done something for nothing. Their enthusiasm for work is susceptible to the influence of the outside world, and to ups and downs in their own mood. This is why they can do a good job at one time and bad at another. This proves that a genuine Communist Party member must be true to the party's cause, broad-minded and above board, bear hardships, work hard, and tolerate criticism from other comrades, and must consider this essential to the cultivation of the necessary party character for party members.

PARTY AND STATE

'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' REMNANT EXPELLED FROM PARTY

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Ji Yan [4764 0917]: "Hebei Province Discipline Inspection Commission Announces Expelling of 'Cultural Revolution' Remnant from the Party"]

[Text] Recently, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee punished Chang Bensan [1603 2609 0005] by expelling him from the party because he had committed serious errors during the "Cultural Revolution" and, moreover, he has so far refused to make an apology in the face of evidences and become deliberately provocative. The provincial discipline inspection commission has issued a circular throughout the province concerning this matter.

Chang Bensan was admitted to the party in 1949 and started to take part in party work in 1952. During the "Cultural Revolution," he was with the Tangshan Municipal Revolutionary Committee taking care of special cases. He later became the party branch secretary and concurrently the director of the revolutionary committee of the Tangshan Municipal Local Opera Troupe and Song and Dance Troupe.

At present, he works at the Tangshan Municipal Mass Art Gallery. During the period when the municipal revolutionary committee put out special criticisms, Chang Bensan spared no effort to extort confessions by torture. He has put many people of the municipal party cadre school and the literary and art circles to severe torture. Cases as such were very serious. In June and July 1968, Chang Bensan, in collusion with the former students of the drama school, hanged and beat comrade Luo Nan [5102 2809], a female who was the former director of the municipal cultural bureau, and interrogated her for 3 consecutive nights. She was later again hanged upside down and was lashed with a whip while being interrogated. As a result, Comrade Luo Nan's buttocks were lacerated and bled. Chang Bensan also beat up Comrade Gao Guofeng [7559 0948 0023], the former vice president, and Comrade Ge Mengyuan [5514 1125 0337], the former teacher of the municipal party cadre school, until both of them were covered all over with cuts and bruises. He let his hatchet men blindfold Comrade Ma Yun [7456 0061] and beat him up with whips, leather belts and wooden sticks consecutively for 20 to 30 times. When Chang Bensan was in charge of interrogating Comrade Li Yulin [2621 3768 2651], he personally beat Li Yulin on his back and his anklebones. Chang Bensan also beat Comrade Han Jinyan [7281 6855 3601], Ge Mengyuan and Liu Jinxiang [0491 6855 4382] up many times with such instruments of torture as whips, wooden sticks and leather belts. In 1970, when

Chang Bensan was the party branch secretary, and concurrently the director of the revolutionary committee, he concocted various pretexts to run a so-called "food and lodging study class." In so doing, he illegally locked up 17 comrades and continued to go all out to extort confessions by torture. He also on numerous occasions participated in extorting confessions from Comrades Liu Sulian [0491 4790 5571], Wang Junjiang [3169 0193 3068], Chen Jinsheng [7115 5855 3932] and Jing Zangong [0064 6363 0501] by torture that resulted in seven unjust verdicts and an attempted suicide.

The facts of the above mentioned mistakes made by Chang Bensan are obvious and proven by conclusive evidence. However, he flatly denied all of this and refused to be investigated. Although the party organizations have tried every possible means to help him, there has so far been no sign of change of his attitude. And he said instead that he himself is a "victim." When the party branch held its general membership meeting to discuss the question of how to take disciplinary action against him, he even refused to participate in the meeting. For this reason, the Discipline Inspection Commission of the Tangshan Municipal Party Committee has decided to expel him from the party and suggested that the executive branch give him disciplinary sanction to discharge him from public employment but keep him on by placing him on probation.

The circular of the provincial inspection commission points out that the "three types of people" must resolutely be cleared out of the leading bodies. Ideological work must be resolutely strengthened for those who have made serious mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution" in order to educate them to consciously sum up lessons as well as examine and understand their own mistakes so that they can gain the forgiveness of the masses. Stern measures must be adopted in dealing with a handful of people who have shown an abominable attitude, refused to accept help, persisted in their errors, not been at work over a long period of time, slackened their efforts in work or continued to make trouble. It is absolutely not allowed to tolerate or yield to them, or to leave them alone. Party organizations and discipline inspection commissions at all levels must be resolute and have a clear-cut stand toward this question in order to alter as quickly as possible the ambiguous attitude and the state of weakness existing in individual party organizations.

9560  
CSO: 4005/484

PARTY AND STATE

XUZHOU CITES EXEMPLARY PARTY MEMBERS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 82 p 4

[Article: "Use Role Models To Educate Party Members in Communism"]

[Text] Since 1979 the Xuzhou municipal CPC committee has launched activities at all levels throughout the city to compare and cite advanced party organizations and exemplary party members. It has energetically accelerated the construction of the party's basic level organizations, the heightening of party members' awareness of communism, and the improvements in party work style.

In 4 years party organizations at all levels throughout the city have compared and cited 373 advanced party committees at grass roots levels, general branches, and party branches, 626 advanced party groups, 5,687 exemplary party members, and 327 exemplary cadres. Han Yuting [7281 3768 0080], the national "3 August" red banner pacesetter, Zhai Weilang [5049 0251 5328], the national youth shock worker, Zhang Jianshe [1728 1696 6080], the national coal front labor hero, and 28 other well known exemplary party members on numerous occasions have attended relevant conferences on advanced workers throughout the country and have been cordially received by leading comrades of the Central Committee.

Party organizations at all levels throughout Xuzhou have learned from their practices that citing an advanced role model is taking a stand, which is a good way to teach party members to heighten their awareness of communism. They have mainly paid special attention to three points: one, use the advanced role models' ideology of wholeheartedly serving the people to teach party members to bear in mind the fundamental purpose of the party; two, use the advanced role models' revolutionary spirit to teach party members to bear in mind the party's basic goals and to struggle all their lives for communism; three, use the advanced role models' firm belief in communism to teach party members to bear in mind the fundamental nature of the party and to preserve the purity of communism.

9926  
CSO: 4005/494

PARTY AND STATE

ROLE OF INTELLECTUALS IN MODERNIZATION EMPHASIZED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 25 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by XINHUA RIBAO commentator: "The 'Four Aspects' of Transforming the Ranks of Cadres Must Be Correctly Understood"]

[Text] The steps that have been gradually taken in making the ranks of cadres more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated, and more professionally competent constitute one of the fundamental guarantees for enhancing socialist modernization. This has been our party's long-standing policy, and has been written into the new constitution of the party. Every Communist Party member and revolutionary cadre must strive to fulfill this objective as soon as possible.

At present, one of the major obstacles to the transformation of the ranks of cadres in four ways lies in our failure to achieve unity in ideological understanding. There still exist in some comrades muddle-headed ideas and misconceptions that need to be satisfactorily clarified.

Some comrades maintain that transforming the ranks of cadres in four ways means letting "intellectuals rise to power, and throwing worker-peasant cadres out of power." This contention is only a half truth. Outstanding intellectuals must be selected to enter leading bodies. There is nothing wrong with that. In the past, due to the scarcity of intellectuals, and the existence of prejudice against them, there has developed a situation in which intellectuals are now far outnumbered in proportion to other members in leading bodies at all levels, thus sharpening the contradiction that stands in the way of the development of socialist modernization. This situation needs to be urgently changed. To speed up the process of selecting and appointing more robust, morally sound and professionally competent intellectuals to leading posts at all levels is indeed an important measure to change the presently unreasonable structure of leading bodies at all levels. With the development of science and technology will certainly come a gradual increase in the proportion of intellectuals in the ranks of cadres, and even in the entire work force. With the proportion of mental workers in the entire work force rising steadily, a corresponding increase in the proportion of intellectuals in leading bodies at all levels can also be anticipated as an irresistible trend in the development of history. But this should not be construed as an attempt to throw worker-peasant cadres out of power. At any rate, both worker-peasant cadres and intellectual cadres

are all cadres of our party, which has never treated them any differently. It is wrong to pit intellectual cadres against worker-peasant cadres. Worker-peasant cadres have been highly valued by the party and people for their great contributions to the revolution and construction. As they were indispensable to the revolution and construction in the past, worker-peasant cadres remain one of the important dependable forces for the development of socialist modernization in the days ahead. But the problem is that worker-peasant cadres will have to make further efforts to raise their political, professional, and cultural levels so as to enable them to meet the needs for the development of modernization. To this end, the party and government have adopted various measures and devised various ways to strengthen the training of worker-peasant cadres. As a result of painstaking study, many of them have raised their cultural and professional levels to a new high, and have transformed themselves from nonprofessionals into professionals. Some have even become experts in certain respects. With the growing popularization and improvement of education, which will enable more and more of workers and peasants to receive primary, secondary, and higher education in the future, the term "country bumpkins" for which they are named will soon become a misnomer. Worker-peasant cadres will also find themselves in a position which will have nothing in common with "country bumpkins." In the future, we will continue to recruit cadres from among culturally and professionally knowledgeable workers and peasants in a well-planned manner, and will continue to appoint some of them to positions in leading bodies at all levels.

Some comrades said that the transformation of the ranks of cadres in four ways applies only to leading cadres, and therefore, will not immediately affect ordinary cadres. This contention is unjustified. Of course, leading cadres at all levels must press ahead to act as vanguards in transforming the ranks of cadres in four ways. Lenin once said: "At whatever time, and in whatever place, the leader of a certain class will always be the most knowledgeable and advanced person of that class." If our leading cadres are not adequately armed with cultural and professional knowledge, they will find themselves unable to assume any heavy responsibility for the development of socialist modernization. Nor will they be able to provide effective leadership for the entire ranks of cadres to strive to transform themselves in four ways. However, the transformation of the leading bodies in four ways should in no way be put on a par with the transformation of the ranks of cadres in four ways. The objective of developing socialist modernization cannot be realized by relying on a few leading cadres alone. Furthermore, the transformation of the leading bodies in four ways will be like a tree without roots, and water without its source, if it is not tied to the transformation of the rank and file of cadres as a whole. Leading comrades on the Central Committee have repeatedly stressed that the biggest obstacle to the development of the four modernizations program lies in a shortage of talented people. As long as its present cultural and professional composition remains, our contingent of cadres will never find itself able to meet the needs for the development of modernization. This situation needs to be gradually changed. To this end, first, constant efforts must be made to arm cadres with additional cultural and professional knowledge; second, vigorous efforts must be made to carry out the regular and rotational training of existing cadres. Because of the limited resources, it seems impossible to send all culturally and professionally inferior cadres to regular schools for training. They can be trained only in groups, or by stages, or on a rotational

basis through the adoption of various methods and measures. Following the streamlining of our organizations, and reduction in force, more and more cadres can be released from production, and given opportunities to study. This will prove instrumental in enhancing the transformation of the ranks of cadres in four ways.

Some comrades said that the transformation of the ranks of cadres in four ways is a program that involves only professional cadres instead of political work cadres. Comrades who said this seemingly still hold fast to the preconceived view that political work is not a professional work. In their opinion, only technical work is a professional work while work concerning party affairs, political work, and administrative work are not, and therefore, their implementation does not need better-educated and professional cadres. This contention is obviously wrong. For a long time, our failure to regard political work as an important professional work has caused damage to the work of the party. As far as the ideological and political work is concerned, its successful implementation calls for efforts to come to grips with the laws governing the development of human ideas and their changes, to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, to understand the party's line, principles and policies, and to acquire essential knowledge of human resources, psychology, pedagogy, and behavioral science. Why can Li Yanjie [2621 3601 2638], friend of youths, fill his classroom to full capacity when he delivers a report? Why can he draw such a strong response to his reports from youths? Why can he introduce fresh ideas to ideological and political work carried out by political workers? Apart from showing a warm love for youths, an important reason is his ability to come to grips with laws governing their ideological activities, and to use skillfully his rich cultural and scientific knowledge as a vehicle to open the window of their minds. We must make conscientious efforts to sum up experiences and lessons our party has accumulated in political work during the past several decades so that we can establish a theory in this direction step by step. During the past several years, many comrades have proposed to improve ideological and political work scientifically, and to establish a branch of organic science for the party. It can be expected that with political work gradually developing into a branch of science, a large number of propagandists, theoreticians, organizers, and social activists will come to the fore from within the party.

Some comrades said that the first urgent business in transforming the ranks of cadres in four ways is to make them better educated and more professionally competent; as soon as this is done, the process of revolutionizing cadres can be easily fulfilled. This idea is one-sided. The promotion of the four modernizations program calls for acquisition of advanced cultural and scientific knowledge. Otherwise, the development of modernization will be out of question. However, revolutionization of cadres is a guarantee for accomplishing the socialist modernization program. Generally speaking, from the individual point of view, although cultural and scientific knowledge is essential as a theoretical basis for consciously fostering communist ideals, a man armed with rich cultural and professional knowledge alone will find it difficult to bring his wisdom and talent into play on behalf of the party and people, and will even do things damaging their interests, if he does not have several basic qualifications expected of every party cadre, as well as specific ideological and political

qualities. For this reason, while encouraging cadres to conscientiously conduct cultural and scientific research, we must call on them to study seriously Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, politics, history, and other political theories as a necessary step in improving their cultural and professional aptitude as well as political quality. Only by striving for success in these two directions can they become qualified, socialist-minded and professionally competent cadres during this new period. In order to preserve the political purity of leading bodies, the Party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed the need to select and promote cadres in accordance with criteria for moral integrity and professional competence, especially the requirement for moral integrity, a point which was also repeatedly emphasized in the report to the 12th Party Congress. A cadre of moral integrity but not of professional competence will certainly find himself unable to assume any heavy responsibility. Likewise, a cadre of professional competence but not of moral integrity may end up doing something evil. Those who rose to power by acting as rebels and who are obsessed with factionalism, elements engaged in beating, smashing and looting, opponents of the political line adopted by the Central Committee since the Third Plenum, and the serious violators of laws and discipline, should never be selected and appointed to any important positions. If some of them have already been selected and promoted to important positions, resolute measures must be taken to remove them from public office. Only by doing so can we uphold the principle of selecting and promoting cadres in accordance with criteria for moral integrity and professional competence.

9574  
CSO: 4005/496

PARTY AND STATE

PROPER USE OF INTELLECTUALS' TALENTS URGED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Ding Fazhang [0002 3127 4545]: "One Cannot Be Biased in  
Understanding 'Expert Leadership'"]

[Text] A recent press report: According to incomplete statistics for nine provinces, cities, autonomous regions and 25 departments, committees and bureaus of central organs, in the past three years over 92,200 intellectuals have been promoted to leading posts at all levels. Practice indicates that this group of comrades is spirited and serves as a link between past and present, and that the policy of taking the cadre rank more revolutionary, younger average age, better educated and more professionally competent has been strongly prompted. They have fully utilized their professional knowledge and ability in leadership work, and have performed a lively and powerful role in various stages in the course of socialist modernization and construction. Last 23 November, "RENMIN RIBAO" reported that the Shougang party committee had boldly promoted a 1955 college graduate and woman engineer, Hua Shufang [5478 3359 5364] to the post of cadre section chief and in four short months she had made new achievements in the field of personnel work, thus becoming a vivid example.

However, among intellectuals currently being promoted to leading administrative posts, there is still a minority of them who feel that their capabilities are not being used organizationally, and this possibly is the result of individual units blindly giving those with specialized talent "promotion to higher office and rank". They do not realize that the intellectuals which our Party chooses for leading groups must have proper qualifications. These qualifications refer not only to having the proper professional knowledge and being skilled in a certain category of professional work, but also to having organization and leadership ability, to comrades who can do mass work and are able to make breakthroughs, and in a word, to comrades who are fit to do administrative and leadership work. And it is not all intellectuals nor all famous expert scholars who have this last qualification.

Everyone knows Professor Chen Jiangong [7115 1696 0501], a mathematician who has enjoyed a very good reputation in our country. During the period when he held the post of Chairman of the Mathematics Department at Zhejiang University, he discovered that Dr. Su Buqing [5685 2975 7230] a returned student from Japan, not only was a good scholar, but also had proper administrative and management ability. Thereupon he handed in his resignation to then President Shao Feizhi [6730 2431 0037], and earnestly recommended that Professor Su Buqing be appointed department chairman. He said, "I'm not very good at administrative work; I do good academic work but if asked to hold a meeting and to speak, I'm unsatisfactory; Mr. Su can do it and do it well." Later facts have proved that Professor Chen Jiangong, due to emphasizing his strengths and avoiding his weaknesses and concentrating his energy on mathematics scientific research and teaching, in a few years has written nine very influential papers. Among the two of them, Professor Su Buqing who was both chairman and also younger, not only has achieved fame in mathematics teaching and scientific research, but also done very good administrative work. Thus it is not hard to see that academic standards and administrative ability in the final analysis are not the same thing, and "promotion to higher status and rank" for people with specialized talent who are not good at doing administrative work, is not using their strengths, is appointing the man and wasting his talent, and that this is not worthwhile for either the state or for those with specialized talent. For exactly this reason, Comrade Zhao Ziyang [6392 4793 7122], in a recent report to the Fifth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, when speaking of the need to conscientiously implement policies on intellectuals, clearly pointed out that, "Besides truly having organizational ability and being fit to hold administrative leadership posts, it is necessary to allow them to be wholly absorbed in their own specialties."

This is related to the reason why the current phenomenon of intellectuals being blindly "promoted to higher status and rank" has been able to emerge, and more over to the biased understanding of "expert leadership". "Expert leadership" by no means refers only to those with professional specialties, but most importantly refers to their organization and management ability. This organization and management ability includes both knowing one's specialty, and also proper organizational ability. Therefore, as soon as "expert leadership" is mentioned, one cannot only think about having professional knowledge and neglect organization and management ability, and this cannot be neglected under any circumstances.

12267  
CSO: 4005/430

PARTY AND STATE

INTELLECTUALS ASSUME LEADERSHIP POSTS IN YANGZHOU

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Zhang Yangde [1728 7122 1795]: "Yangzhou Selects Intellectuals To Join Leading Groups"]

[Text] To eliminate the ideological influence of the "left," the Yangzhou municipal CPC committee has energetically promoted engineers, technicians, and other intellectuals to posts in leadership bodies at all levels. In 3 years a total of 227 people have been promoted, among which four have joined the leading groups of the municipal CPC committee and municipal government and 19 hold leadership posts on committees and at ministries, offices, and bureaus. Two hundred four people also hold leadership posts at grass roots units. At present, intellectuals already account for 28 percent of the members of the leading groups at all levels in the city.

Due to the long term effects of the "leftist" and small producer way of thinking, many people are prejudice against intellectuals, saying, for example, that they are "politically unreliable," that "they can only use their one skill and can't be entrusted with important tasks," that "there's no comparable work for intellectuals," and so on. Thus, just when the municipal CPC committee begins to select intellectual cadres in accordance with the requirements of making the cadre rank more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent, it frequently runs up against all kinds of resistance. To eliminate these biases, the municipal CPC committee in the past 3 years has repeatedly organized the leading cadres of the party committee at all levels and the office cadres to study the party's policies, and it has repeatedly explained the importance of the intellectuals to the four modernizations. To remove the obstacles to selecting intellectual cadres, the committee criticized those mistaken ideologies that stress manual labor but look down on mental labor and that attach importance to worker-peasant cadres but despise intellectuals.

In order to select exemplary intellectuals to join leadership bodies at all levels, the Yangzhou municipal CPC committee members have done much thorough, painstaking work. Each year they must integrate the testing of middle-aged and young cadres and must conduct general and intense investigations of intellectuals. Those who are in the prime of life and who well meet the conditions for ability and political integrity will be placed on a reserve list of

leading cadres at all levels intended for leadership posts, and respective measures will then be taken in accordance with specific conditions. Those intellectuals who are intended for leadership posts within the party will be sent to party schools to study, and those intended for administrative posts will attend training classes to study modern management. Some will also be sent overseas in order to broaden their horizons. Intellectuals who lack leadership experience are conscious of "heavy burdens," but if they are placed at the first line to be tempered, their competence will increase through practice. Hu Houcheng [5170 0624 6134], who presently is the municipal CPC committee deputy secretary, and Shi Guoxing [2457 0948 5281] and Jiang Zhaoxin [5592 0340 0207], who are presently standing committee members and deputy mayors, are intellectuals who have been promoted within the past 2 years. With the enthusiastic assistance of the principal leading comrades of the municipal CPC committee and municipal government, they can already be solely responsible for developing work.

After the more than 200 intellectuals take up their leadership posts, they will bring to the leading groups at all levels modern science and technology and modern management, and they will play active roles in making new breakthroughs in production and work. In the past, the Yangzhou Main Wristwatch Plant could only produce outdated pocket watches, but after three scientists and technicians were selected to join the leading group in the past two years, the plant took firm hold of business management and technology and tackled key problems. Not long after, breakthroughs were made and now it can manufacture huge quantities of "Hortensia" wristwatches.

In the third quarter it also successfully trial produced an economic calendar watch. Up to September of this year, the plant's output value and taxes and profits turned over to the state were more than double that of the same period last year. In an electrical machinery repair and replacement plant the management was originally rather disorganized and it only produced one product. After its leading group was reorganized and strengthened by the addition of two scientists and technicians, the plant struggled for one year and then the situation improved greatly. Its principal product, starters, has already been expanded to five series of 25 varieties. There are 28 ready markets in provinces and cities within the nation, and already the products are being exported abroad.

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PARTY AND STATE

NANJING AVIATION ACADEMY HEEDS IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by Huang Zhizhong [7806 3112 0022] and Chen Renyu [7115 0086 5038]: "Nanjing Aviation Academy Builds Contingent of Ideological and Political Workers"]

[Text] How to build a student contingent of ideological and political workers? The experiences of the Nanjing Aviation Academy point to raising their ideological awareness, improving their theoretical education, and emphasizing the cultivation of practical work ability.

In recent years, the Nanjing Aviation Academy retained a selected group of graduates as political instructors for the students. In order to build this contingent of ideological and political workers, the party committee of the academy zeroes in on ideological work as soon as they assumed their posts. Responsible comrades of the party committee and leadership of the academy approached them for discussion and helped them organize study class and training class. Through education and assistance, political instructors raised their awareness and conscientiously treated their own work as a science of study and as an indispensable component of party work in the new period. A political instructor in the No 5 department was once uneasy about his work, feeling that his personality was unsuited for ideological work and that it would be better for him to be a graduate student. Leading cadres patiently talked to him, helping him to find favorable conditions for his work, while joining him to find solutions for his shortcomings. Greatly moved and inspired, this comrade not only made up his mind to stay on the position but also actively went to the student body for suggestion to overcome his problems in work, which quickly showed improvement.

The party committee of the Nanjing Aviation Academy believed that political-ideological work is a science of investigating the mental process of men. It is essential to raise the theoretical level of ideological and political workers. They organized political instructors in studying theory, requiring them to reach a certain level in 3 or 4 years, helping them design study plan, specially offering 11 college-level courses which included language, pedagogy, psychology and ethics and providing guarantee on teaching

resources, time and system support. Comrades not only studied seriously and scored good grades in examinations but also combined with practical work, actively engaged in scholarly discussion and deepened their understanding of theoretical knowledge and guided work practices.

In order to improve work progress, the party committee of Nanjing Aviation Academy pay special attention to the cultivation of practical work ability of political instructors. First, it is necessary to establish advanced examples of good ideological work among the students as a goal for the study. Comrade Zhou Pusheng [0719 5543 3932], political instructor of the No 3 department and a class of 80 graduates, made close friends with students and worked unrelentingly. His meticulous ideological education improved student morale; the advanced became more advance and those who were catching up also made visible improvement. In April 1982, the Academy designated him as an excellent instructor and commended his deed in school publications. Political instructors can learn from him valuable spirit as well as methods and experience of performing good work. Second, it is necessary to organize political instructors in analyzing typical cases to find out successful experience and to learn from lessons of failures. There is a graduate of class of 82 whose problem was discovered and pointed out by a political instructor. Although he recognized the problem and promised to reform, this student proceeded to go astray even more until he finally violated criminal law. After analyzing this typical case, comrades recognized the weak link in their work and found effective methods for successful work. Third, we must engage in frequent exchange of work experience and pay special attention to every comrade's merits and learn from each other so as to borrow other's strength to make up one's own weakness. For example, in the No 4 department, class of 80 political instructor Ji Shengying [1323 516B 5391] trained a group of student cadres who helped those lagging behind; in the No 3 department, class of 80 political instructor Yao Changjing [1202 2490 6855] created a constructive environment for students trying to catch up. They all provided inspiration for us.

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PARTY AND STATE

POLITICAL SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED FOR YOUNG WORKERS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 28 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Xi Xuan [1598 6513]: "Wuxi Establishes 240 Political Schools for Young Workers"]

[Text] In Wuxi Municipality over 240 plants have already successively established political schools for young workers and trained in rotation over 6,000 of these workers.

At present, there are close to 400,000 workers in Wuxi, and approximately 270,000 young workers are below the age of 35, which accounts for 68.3 percent of the total number. In July of this year the municipal CPC committee decided to set up political schools that within two years time would, by stages and in groups, educate the young workers throughout the city in the "four histories" (modern history, contemporary history, party history, and the history of the struggle of the working class). This will enable them to understand the hardships of the past, cherish the socialism of the present, and yearn for the communism of the future so they can gradually become a new generation of the working class that is idealistic, moral, educated, and disciplined. Up to July, 21 wards and bureaus in the entire area to specific sites throughout the city have established political schools.

Because the guiding ideology for running the schools was correct and some of the educational content was expanded, many young workers feel that after they entered school their minds were enriched, their stomachs were full of "goods," and their study and analysis of problems was also rather comprehensive. Initial practice has indicated that results were mainly obtained in three areas.

One, the young workers' awareness of the communist ideology has been aroused, which enabled them to understand specifically the principles "without the CPC there can be no new China" and "taking the socialist road is the only road for China to take." In the past, a young woman worker at the Jiangnan Equipment Plant continually complained about the impoverished homeland. With great concentration she studied the Japanese language and hoped for the right opportunity to go to Japan to seek a way out. While studying the "four histories" and becoming familiar with our nation's bumpy past and the revolutionary tradition of the Chinese people's patriotism, she said with feeling: "I want to spend my

whole life in China, our beloved homeland!" In the course of studying, some young workers have applied for membership in the CYL and the party. After completing their studies, youths at a few plants set up after hours Marxist-Leninist study groups. The Ximian Plant alone has 22 groups in which over 170 young workers take part in studying.

Two, the young workers' ideological cultivation has improved. In the political schools the young workers have been rather systematically educated in ideological cultivation and the legal system, and many have become law abiding and polite people. At an electric fan plant there was a young worker who formerly "plucked flowers" and got into fights outside the plant. While at the plant he was away from work without good cause and was a troublemaker. He then received a major education through study. At the political school's lecture meeting he delivered a speech entitled "Farewell to the Past," and with much feeling said: "From now on I must strive to be a qualified worker, and I ask all of you to observe my actions." After this, he rapidly progressed.

Three, revolutionary enthusiasm for building the four modernizations has been aroused. Training in rotation and studying the "four histories" have changed the mental attitudes of the vast number of young workers, their zeal has been fully roused, and the fine practices of good study habits and making progress have begun to appear. In the weaving shop at the Ximian Plant there is a young worker whose work was previously careless. At present, by means of studying at a political school, a "sudden change" has appeared in his thinking. He had his long hair cut, took off his flowered shirt, and is extremely active in production. After he returned to his shop he gave up his break and transported cloth the entire day. After work begins, the factory sets the daily quota of seven bundles to be run through the lathe, but he runs 14.

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PARTY AND STATE

VETERAN CADRES RETIRE FOR MODERNIZATION CAUSE

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 2 Jan 83 p 1

[Article: "Think In Terms Of and Speed Up the Four Modernizations; 342 First Line Cadres Retired From Departments and Bureaus"]

[Text] Recently 342 veteran cadres from provincial level organizations, local districts and municipalities (including those above administrative grade 14 who are entitled to the same treatment as special appointment grade in departments, bureaus and local districts) retired from first line leadership posts and processed paperworks for their retirement.

Most of this group of veteran cadres began devoting themselves to revolution during the Sino-Japanese war and have actively engaged in the cause of the revolution and socialist construction, and made contribution to the party and the people. Especially after a decade of turmoil, many veteran cadres resumed leadership position, carrying out the party line, principles and policies promulgated after the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee to bring order out of chaos. They shifted the emphasis of work, performed a large amount of work and have won the respect and love of the people.

In order to ease the transition and cooperation of new and veteran cadres, many senior cadres, thinking in terms of the "four modernizations" and speeding up the "four modernizations;" voluntarily asked for retirement.

Many veteran cadres in their application for retirement, recommended qualified people, made recommendations on improving the organization and continue to carry out the party's cause.

Many veteran cadres also expressed their wishes, retiring from posts without losing their revolutionary zeal. They continue to study after retirement, be united with the mass, maintain the excellent tradition of the party and make new contribution to the party and to the socialist cause.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### COMMENTARY ON COMMUNIST IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Staff Commentator: "Learn the Reality of Communism Through Practice"]

[Text] Today we have published the experience of the youth service group of the Shanghai municipal Party committee organization of the CYL, and this provides useful enlightenment under the new circumstances of carrying out communist ideological education for staff members and workers.

Lenin has pointed out many times that youth cannot only be limited to learning communism from books, but moreover must learn it through participation in the daily work of public welfare activity, voluntary labor, and other public service. He particularly emphasized that, "To be a member of the CYL it is necessary to dedicate all one's work and ability to the public cause. This is the essence of communist education." Youth service activity specifically provides a classroom enabling youths to learn communism not only from books but also through practice; through actual practice in serving the people and the spirit of self-devotion, youths have smashed the shackles of the outworn ideology of "looking at everything for money", have smashed the fetters of the vulgar concept of "the study of relationships", and have also smashed the extremely selfish bourgeois philosophy of "everyone for himself"; and the development and perfection of mutual relations between socialist people has helped change the general mood of society, and has promoted the establishment of the socialist spirit and culture. Moreover, this great work has also enabled youth to receive a lively and profound education in communist ideology and morality.

In carrying out communist ideological education for staff members and workers there are basically two major routes: One is systematic inculcation and daily ideological and political education, and the other is education through practice. The two are mutually related, and it's no good if one is lacking. Closely combining the two can enable the broad masses of staff members and workers, through a combination of theory and practice, to understand inevitable trends in the development of socialist history and to recognize the great historical mission of the working class. And only

by strengthening their class consciousness can the workers' movement have the quality of awareness and become a genuine communist movement. We are now already in the first stage of communist society, and moreover have entered a new historical period of building a strong, modern socialist country, while we are undertaking the great cause of communism, we absolutely should and can, through all kinds of methods, enable the masses of workers to learn communism not only from books but also through practice, and to further grasp this powerful ideological weapon of Marxism. Therefore, in the building of two civilizations, this definitely can further initiate for them an inexhaustible supply of wisdom and power, and work wonders among mankind which could not be anticipated by many people.

Activity by youth service groups has further shown us that there are many different ways and methods to carry out communist ideological education for staff members and workers. As long as we earnestly learn from the masses and support and summarize the new experience created by them, we can definitely carry out communist ideological education which is lively, rich and varied, and loved by the masses.

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PARTY AND STATE

ORGANIZATION, MISSION OF PEOPLE'S PROCURATORATE DESCRIBED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 82 p 4

[Article: "Organization and MIssion of the People's Procuratorate"]

[Text] The people's procuratorate is divided into the Supreme People's Procuratorate, local people's procuratorates at all levels, and special people's procuratorates. Local people's procuratorates at all levels are also divided into provincial, autonomous region, municipalities directly under the Central Government, autonomous prefectures, county, municipal and autonomous county people's procuratorates. Provincial, autonomous region and municipalities directly under the Central Government people's procuratorates, according to need may establish branch procuratorates. Municipal people's procuratorates of municipalities directly under the Central Government and of established regions, according to need may establish people's procuratorates in municipal areas under their jurisdiction.

The people's procuratorate is the supervisory organ of state law. Its mission is: Through the exercise of procuratorial authority, to suppress all treason, division of the state and other counterrevolutionary activity; to attack counter-revolutionaries and other criminals, to defend national unity, to defend the system of people's democratic dictatorship, to defend the socialist legal system; to defend order in society; maintain order in production, work, teaching, scientific research and the people's lives; to protect commonly-won socialist property and the laboring masses' collectively-owned property, to protect legal property owned by private citizens; to protect the citizens' personal, democratic and other rights; and to guarantee the successful carrying out of socialist modernization and construction.

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PARTY AND STATE

ORGANIZATION, MISSION OF PEOPLE'S COURTS DESCRIBED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 82 p 4

[Article: "Organization and Mission of the People's Courts"]

[Text] The organization of the people's courts is: local people's courts at all levels, special people's courts, and the Supreme People's Court. Local people's courts at all levels are divided into basic-level people's courts, special people's courts, and Higher People's Courts. Special people's courts include: military courts, railway transportation courts, water transportation courts, forest work courts, and other special courts.

According to organization and legal provisions of people's courts, the mission of people's courts is to try criminal and civil cases, and moreover through trial activity, to punish all criminals and to solve civil disputes, so as to safeguard the system of people's democratic dictatorship, to defend the socialist system and social order, to protect commonly-owned socialist property and the laboring masses' collectively-owned property; to protect legal property owned by private citizens; to protect the citizens' personal, democratic and other rights; and to guarantee the successful carrying out of socialist modernization and construction.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### JIANGSU ESTABLISHES 34 TOWNSHIP, TOWN GOVERNMENTS

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 17 Jan 83 p 1

[Article: "34 Township and Town Governments Have Been Established in the Province"]

[Text] Thirty-four communes in 3 counties in the province have established township and town people's governments. Jiangning County has established township government in 26 communes; Jiangdu county has established 7 township governments. In January, the Xinfeng Commune of Dafeng County established town people's government which is to govern townships, and to put into full play the function of linking up small towns with townships. Eighteen small communes in seven counties are engaged or about to engage in separating government from communes and establishing township governments.

Since the establishment of these 34 township and town people's governments, though in different lengths of time, all have shown the preliminary effect of "three reinforcements." First, economic construction has been strengthened and the autonomy of cooperative economy has been assured; the development of agricultural production and commodity economy has been promoted and specialized households, key households and various types of economic link ups have increased.

Second, political construction has been visibly strengthened; changing the situation in which political power is displaced when government and communes were joined as one. Improvements have also been achieved in social justice, public order, spirit of community and people, cultural life and public health, birth planning, mother-and-child care, young people's education, housing construction, assistance to the poor and construction of bridges and roads. Third, initial attempts have been made to solve problems of the inseparation of party and politics and to change the situation of lacking organizational strength at some basic level units. Party construction has also been strengthened. Township party committees have concentrated efforts on the party's ideological construction and organizational construction, leading to an upturn in party workstyle.

In the 34 township and towns, towns are built on the basis of the original communes, and townships are based on brigades. The broad masses of cadres and people have been firm in their thinking and suffered no losses in

collective property. The party, communes and government assumed their responsibility and proceeded with various tasks accordingly. Basic level unit cadres and farmers said that the separation of government and communes has provided further institutional guarantee to the ushering in of a new situation in agriculture.

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PARTY AND STATE

MEASURES FOR PROTECTING STATE PROPERTY DESCRIBED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by the Research Office of the Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission: "Taking State Property for Personal Use During Reorganization Is Strictly Prohibited"]

[Text] The Discipline Inspection Commission of the Shanxi Provincial Party Committee issued a circular on 12 January strictly forbidding the private use or embezzlement of state property during reorganization of public organs.

The circular says that reorganization of the leading bodies is a very important task at present. It is an important guarantee of the implementation of the goal set by the 12th CPC National Congress which is to open up new prospects for the construction of socialist modernization in an all-round way. Leading cadres at all levels and Communist Party members must stand fast at their respective posts and exert themselves to protect state property well in order to ensure that reorganization of public organs can be carried out smoothly.

The circular points out that, at present, some units in our province have squandered funds and privately used, embezzled and wasted state property by taking advantage of the opportunity of abolishment and merger of public organs to find various excuses and fabricate pretexts of one kind or another. Acts like this have caused undue losses to state property. Some of the units have, in the name of working for the well-being of the staff and workers, manufactured and secretly taken for personal use a large quantity of writing desks, large book cases and double beds, and so forth. Some others have, in the name of holding a meeting, adopted the method of separating expense bills to practice extravagant eating and drinking and to distribute so-called "souvenirs" for the purpose of sharing state property in a disguised form. Acts which violate the law and discipline like this have produced very harmful effects on the work or reorganizing public organs. Cases as such must resolutely be checked and investigated and severe punishments must be carried out.

The circular says that for the purpose of preventing similar cases from repeating, notice is hereby given to the effect that:

1. All units which have been abolished or merged must conscientiously check up on public property, goods kept in stock and all economic accounts of its own unit which nobody is permitted to transfer, take in secret, embezzle or graft. Public property must be registered and compiled which must be kept in a safe place. This register is not allowed to be kept by any person privately or to be destroyed willfully. Cash and goods owned by the state or collectives are not allowed to be switched and violators will be punished in all earnestness in accordance with the seriousness of his case and the consequences he has caused.
2. It is strictly prohibited to take advantage of the opportunity of abolishment and merger of public organs to fabricate pretexts of one kind or another to squander public funds, to indiscriminately pay out bonuses, subsidize or to pay in kind in the name of working for the well-being of the staff and workers, or to waste public funds in practicing extravagant eating and drinking without restraint. Once problems as mentioned above emerge, we must first investigate and affix the responsibility of the leader of the unit while we are sternly investigating who should take up the responsibility.
3. Public funds or public property personally borrowed from units already abolished or merged which are long overdue must be returned within a specific time. Individuals who are really unable to return such funds or property in time, must personally go through the formalities with the new unit. Nobody is permitted to be keen on gaining advantages over the state.
4. Party discipline inspection departments at all levels must observe discipline in an exemplary way. They must report to the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at the upper levels in time on acts appearing during reorganization of public organs which violate the law and discipline. They must also conscientiously investigate and handle these acts in coordination with departments concerned. People who are in charge of finance or accounting as well as the storekeepers must be faithful in the discharge of their duties. They have the duty and authority to stop erroneous acts of taking state property for personal use during reorganization of public organs. They must also report these acts to departments concerned without delay.
5. In units which are going to be abolished or merged, party organizations at all levels must strengthen political ideological work in order to educate the whole staff to strictly observe discipline. Leading cadres at all levels and Communist Party members must take the lead to protect national interests. They must resolutely fight against evil acts such as privately using or embezzeling state property in order to ensure that reorganization of public organs can smoothly be carried out.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MAO ZEDONG'S THEORIES ON STUDY OF HISTORY EULOGIZED

Beijing BEIJING SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY]  
in Chinese No 6, 25 Oct 82 pp 73-78

[Article by Qu Lindong [4234 2651 2639]: "Comrade Mao Zedong's Outstanding Contributions to Marxist Historiography"]

[Text] In the developmental course of China's Marxist historiography, Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on historiographic work and Chinese history are outstanding contributions.

#### Comrade Mao Zedong's Theories on Historiographic Work

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theoretician as well as a great Marxist. In leading the long struggles of China's new democratic revolution and its socialist revolution and construction, he always gave serious attention to historiographic work.

He stressed the importance of historiographic work in guiding the practical revolutionary activities. As early as during the war to resist Japan, he declared: "Without revolutionary theories, historical knowledge and a deep understanding of the practical movement, it will be impossible for a political party to guide the revolutionary movement successfully." Therefore, he proposed to the entire party the task of studying history, pointing out that "we must study our historical heritage and critically summarize it with the Marxist method." "Our nation has a history of several thousand years ; it has its characteristics and many valuable things. In regard to them, we are still elementary students. Today's China is a development of the historical China. Being Marxist historians, we should not sever history. From Confucius to Sun Yat-sen, we should summarize and carry on these valuable heritages. It will help us tremendously in guiding the current great movement." ("The Position of the CPC in the National War"). Here, he raised the study of history and historiographic work to the height of whether the revolutionary political party could guide the revolutionary movement and placed them in the important position linked with the success or failure of the revolution.

He stressed the importance of historiographic work for the following reasons: First, he felt that Marxist historiographic work was a scientific task which would enable us to correctly interpret the historical development of the human society. In terms of the political party leading a great movement, if it failed to correctly understand the historical development of the human society, it would not be able to correctly explain the future of history, and it might go astray in the revolutionary movement. This theory was clearly expounded in "On Practice." He declared: "In the long historical period, people were limited to a one-sided understanding of the social history. On the one hand, the prejudices of the exploiting class constantly distorted the social history; on the other hand, the narrow production scale restricted people's field of vision. The overall comprehension of the development of social history and making the understanding of society into a science only occurred with the emergence of the modern proletariat which appeared with the giant productive forces, i.e., large industry. It is the Marxist science." The overall comprehension of the development of social history is the important task of Marxist historiography. Second, he felt that only by applying the Marxist standpoint, viewpoint and method to the earnest study of China's history and its present status would it become possible to integrate Marxism with China's reality. "Make theoretical creations compatible with China's needs in all aspects." ("Rectify the Party's Style"). Without such theoretical creations, it would be impossible for the proletarian political party to guide the revolutionary movement successfully. Third, he felt that historiographic work would provide the proletarian political party with many useful historical experiences, which would serve as references in guiding the revolutionary movement. He pointed out incisively: "The history of mankind is one of continuous development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. This history will never end.... Therefore, mankind must continuously summarize experiences, discovering, inventing, creating and progressing." (See Premier Zhou Enlai's government work report at the first meeting of the Third National People's Congress). China's new democratic revolution was a modern peasant revolution led by the proletariat. To avoid a repetition of the disasters encountered by the peasant wars in history, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in the early days of the Red Army: "The roving banditry of Huang Chao and Li Chuang in history is no longer permissible in today's environment." ("On Rectifying the Incorrect Ideology in the Party"). In a letter to Comrade Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] in 1944, he wrote: "We regard your 'Memorial on the 300th Anniversary of Jiashen [1644, the year of the founding of the Qing Dynasty]' as a rectification document. Conceited over a minor victory, more conceited over a major victory, disasters time and time again--how to avoid such mishaps indeed calls for our attention. If you will, with your able pen, write an article on the experiences of the Taiping Army, it will be most helpful.... Your historical theories and plays, which are most beneficial to the Chinese people, are too few, never too many. You will not be wasting your energy. I hope that you will continue your effort." ("Comrade Mao Zedong's 15 Letters to Literary and Artistic Figures," RENMIN RIBAO, 23 May 1982). It indicates his serious attention on the experiential lessons of history summarized by

the historiographic workers. In the early sixties, after reading "Biography of Yao Chong," "New Tang History," he praised Yao Chong's 10 suggestions to Emperor Xuanzong of Tang as the "10 articles of a political program." He felt that "these 10 articles of a political program are concise and clear, seldom seen in ancient and modern times.... They still possess a certain value as reference to us today." (Xin Zhong [1823 0022], "Record of Chairman Mao's Study Life," SOCIAL SCIENCE FRONT, No 4, 1981). It shows that, when studying history, Comrade Mao Zedong gave serious attention to assimilating the historical experiences.

Comrade Mao Zedong stressed the important effect of historiographic work on raising national self-confidence. Historiographic work is important not only to the proletarian political party, but also to the entire nation. In regard to the latter, the main issue is raising the national self-confidence. Comrade Mao Zedong felt that critically carrying on the ancient cultural heritages "is the necessary condition to develop a new national culture and raise the national self-confidence." ("On the New Democracy"). The "necessary condition" is naturally not something which is dispensable. His words are weighty. When discussing the historical tradition of the Chinese nation, he said: "China is one of the earliest civilized nations in the world; it has close to 4,000 years of written history." "The Chinese nation is also one with a splendid revolutionary tradition and a fine historical heritage." ("China's Revolution and the CPC"). When discussing China's history since 1840, he pointed out: "As a result of the unyielding, persistent and courageous struggles waged by the Chinese people in the past century, imperialism to date has not been able to destroy China, and it will never destroy China." (Ibid.) Summarizing the experiences of the Northern Expedition, the land revolution and the war to resist Japan, he wrote in 1945: "The experiences of the three revolutions, especially the war against Japan, have given the Chinese people such a confidence: Without the effort of the CPC and without the Chinese communists as the mainstay of the Chinese people, China's independence and liberation will be impossible, and its industrialization and agricultural modernization will also be impossible." ("On the Coalition Government"). From these words, we can see that historiographic work should provide people with enlightenment and confidence; it does not lead people to look backward, but forward. It is one reason for the importance of historiographic work and a basic principle of Marxist historiography.

Comrade Mao Zedong gave serious attention to the relations between historiographic work and rectification of the study style. He consistently felt that paying attention to the study of history was one of the distinctions between the Marxist study attitude and the subjectivist attitude. He said: The subjectivist study attitude "is to sever history, understanding only Greece, not China, and to remain in the dark about China's yesterday and day before yesterday." But the Marxist study attitude is the opposite: "It does not sever history. One must understand China as well as Greece, China's revolutionary history as well as the revolutionary histories of foreign countries, and China's yesterday and

day before yesterday as well as its today." He criticized some people: "Instead of feeling ashamed, they take pride in their total ignorance or meager knowledge of the Chinese history." ("Reform Our Way of Study"). He appealed: "All Communist Party members possessing a certain capacity must study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the history of our nation and the status and tendency of the current movement, and teach those whose cultural level is comparatively low." The cadres must particularly study them, and the Central Committee members and high level cadres must intensify their study." ("The Position of the CPC in the National War"). These words were repeatedly stressed when he discussed the party's style and the issue of study. In this respect, Comrade Mao Zedong served as a model to the entire party and entire people. Whether in the revolutionary war years or in the socialist period, he gave serious attention to historiographic work, showing a warm concern for and giving concrete instructions to Guo Moruo, Fan Wenlan [5400 2429 3482] and Lu Zhenyu [0712 2182 5038], China's famous historians. After the founding of the nation, he systematically read the "24 Histories" and made many marginal annotations and notes, rereading certain passages sometimes as many as five times. ("Record of Chairman Mao's Study Life"). His assiduity in studying history shows that he consistently upheld the principle of integrating Marxism with China's history and present conditions. His solemn and scientific attitude was an embodiment of the principle of linking theory with practice advocated by him all along.

Comrade Mao Zedong gave serious attention to the focus of historiographic work and the method of studying history. He had a very clear view of the focus of historiographic work. He felt that both Chinese and foreign histories should be studied and that, while we must understand Greece and Rome, we should not forget "our own ancestors." In regard to studying the history of China, he pointed out in May 1941: "The history of the CPC and that of China of the recent 100 years since the Opium War are particularly important, but very few people truly understand them. Virtually no one has earnestly undertaken the study of China's economic, political, military and cultural histories of the recent 100 years." ("Reform Our Way of Study"). Very obviously, he placed the focus of historiographic work on the history of the recent 100 years. While it was because its study was a weak link in historiographic work, the more important reason was out of the urgent need of the revolutionary cause of the time. In his letter to Comrade Fan Wenlan in the fall of 1940, he said: Today, the cultural reactionism of the large landowners and large bourgeoisie is extremely widespread, and the first task of the ideological struggle is to combat it. In discussing the economic history, we must criticize their representative figures in modern times. ("Liu Danian [0491 1129 1628], Introduction to "Selected Historical Papers of Fan Wenlan," China Social Science Publishing House, April 1979, first edition). A little later, he suggested that Comrade Lu Zhenyu write "China's Modern Revolutionary History." (Ye Guisheng [5509 2710 3932] and Liu Maolin [0491 5399 2651], "Lu Zhenyu, China's Modern Historian," TREND OF STUDY OF CHINESE HISTORY, No 9, 1980). All these indicate that Comrade Mao Zedong gave extremely serious attention to the study of China's history

of the recent 100 years. He made a concrete suggestion: "In regard to China's history of the recent 100 years, we should gather together qualified people, proceed by dividing the labor and cooperating and overcome the disorganized state. We should first undertake the analytical study of the economic, political, military and cultural histories before it will become possible for us to make a comprehensive study." ("Reform Our Way of Study"). His views and instructions had an important impact on promoting the study of China's modern history and clarifying the orientation of historiographic work.

In his works, Comrade Mao Zedong expressed many penetrating views on the method of studying history. First, on theory, material and conclusion, he pointed out in "Reform Our Way of Study:" When studying history and the present status, we should "rely not on subjective imagination, a passing enthusiasm or lifeless books, but on the objectively existing facts, carefully gather the data and, under the guidance of the universal truths of Marxism, draw the correct conclusions from the data." In "Rectify the Party's Style," he said: "Now our Party Central Committee has made a decision, appealing to our comrades to master the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, viewpoint and method, earnestly study China's history and its economy, politics, military affairs and culture, and make concrete analyses of the issues in line with detailed material before arriving at theoretical conclusions. This responsibility rests on us." In terms of the method of historiographic work, the meaning of these two passages is: Carefully gather the data, analyze and study them by applying the Marxist-Leninist principles and draw the correct conclusions. Second, on the application of the theory of the class struggle in studying history, he stressed: "In the class struggle, some classes won; others vanished. It is history, the civilization history of several thousand years." ("Cast Off Illusions; Prepare to Struggle"). He made many incisive expositions when applying the class struggle theory on analyzing the basic contradictions of China's feudal and semi-colonial and semi-feudal societies. Third, on respecting the dialectic development of history, he felt that, when studying history, we should pay attention to the link between the past and the present and reveal the dialectic relations in the developmental course of history. He pointed out: "Today's China is a development of the China in history. Being Marxist historicists, we should not sever history." ("The Position of the CPC in the National War"). The "historicism" mentioned here means that we must not study history apart from the historical viewpoint, and that we must apply dialectics in the course of studying history. He said: "China's new politics and new economy today are developed from the ancient old politics and old economy, and its new culture today is also developed from the ancient old culture; therefore, we must respect our own history, and must not sever it. Nevertheless, this kind of respect is to render a definite scientific position to history and to esteem its dialectic development; it is not to extol the ancient and disparage the present, for it will be incompatible with the dialectics of historical development. Fourth, to recognize the people as the creators of history, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The people, only the people, are the motive force to create world history." ("On the

Coalition Government"). Threading through his many important works, this idea has become a part of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. When discussing literature and art, he stressed repeatedly: "In regard to the people, the creators of the history of the world of mankind, why should they not be extolled?" ("Talk at the Yanan Literary Forum"). "History is created by the people, yet in old dramas (in all the old literature and art divorced from the people), they became the dregs, while the lords and ladies controlled the stage. Such historical transpositions have been rectified by you, and the true features of history have been restored." ("Letter to Yang Shaoxuan [2799 4801 5503] and Qi Yanming [7871 3601 6900]," (9 January 1944), RENMIN RIBAO, 23 May 1982). These words were directed at the literary and artistic workers, but the historical conception and methodology expressed in them should doubtlessly be followed by our historiographic workers.

#### Comrade Mao Zedong's Theories on Chinese History

Comrade Mao Zedong made a number of rich and incisive expositions on Chinese history. In terms of time, they stretch from antiquity to modernity. In terms of contents, they cover the aspects of economics, politics, military affairs, culture, nationality relations and foreign affairs, and include many historical figures. His scientific analysis of China's modern history and his summary of its revolutionary experiences possess a great theoretical and practical significance in directing its revolution.

On the national conditions of modern China, Comrade Mao Zedong, in "China's Revolution and the CPC," pointed out: "After the 1840 Opium War, China turned step by step into a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society." He revealed in 10 aspects the imperialist oppressions by economic, political, military and cultural means, "turning a feudal China into the bloodstained picture of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial and colonial China." He pointed out that the combination of feudal exploitation with the comprador bourgeoisie and usury, the development of the national bourgeoisie and its weaknesses, the dictatorship enforced by the alliance of the landowner class and the large bourgeoisie, the imperialist control of China's financial and economic lifelines and its political and military forces, the extremely uneven development of China's politics, economy and culture, the poverty and lack of freedom on the part of China's broad masses, especially the peasants, rarely seen in the world, etc. were the characteristics of China's semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Therefore, he came to the following conclusion: "The contradictions between imperialism and the Chinese nation and between feudalism and the masses are the main contradictions in modern Chinese society.... China's great modern and contemporary revolutions occurred and developed on the foundation of these basic contradictions." In "China's Revolution," Chapter 2 of this famous work, he made a penetrating scientific analysis of the objectives, tasks, impetuses, nature and future of the revolution of modern China. His correct interpretation of China's national conditions in modern times and his clarification of the nature of its society in the

semi-colonial and semi-feudal period enabled him to correctly analyze the series of momentous issues connected with the revolution. Whether in theory or in revolutionary practice, understanding the nature of the society of modern China is a matter of prime importance.

On the revolution of modern China, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The history of imperialist aggression and its opposition to China's independence and development of capitalism constitute China's modern history." ("On the New Democracy"). In other words, "the course of turning China into a semi-colony and colony by the alliance of imperialism and China's feudalism was the course of the Chinese people's resistance against imperialism and its lackeys." Because of the courageous struggles of the Chinese people, imperialism failed to destroy China. It is a basic historical experience. In the entire course of the revolution of modern China, "national revolution and democratic revolution, the two basic tasks, were distinguishable yet unified." ("China's Revolution and the CPC"). In terms of the developmental stages of the revolution, "the most important distinction was before and after the emergence of the Communist Party." ("The 4 May Movement"). Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out time and again that the "4 May Movement" and the founding of the CPC divided China's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles into the old democratic revolution and the new democratic revolution, the two linked yet distinguishable stages. The main historical lesson in the period of the old democratic revolution was: "The old diehard feudal ideological weapon" failed to resist imperialist aggression, and "the ideological weapons and political programs ... from the arsenal of the Western bourgeois revolutionary period" also failed. They all declared bankruptcy, and "the Chinese people had no ideological weapon to resist imperialism." ("The Bankruptcy of the Idealist Concept of History"). As "the national bourgeoisie was a class of a dual nature," in one aspect, "it was one of the revolutionary forces, but in another aspect, due to its economic and political weaknesses and its failure to sever completely its economic ties with imperialism and feudalism, it did not have the courage to thoroughly resist imperialism and feudalism." ("China's Revolution and the CPC"). "Thus, China's national bourgeoisie was unable to solve the two basic issues and two basic tasks of China's bourgeois democratic revolution" ("On the New Democracy"), and the responsibility inevitably fell on the shoulders of the proletariat and its political party. Comrade Mao Zedong's theories were the shining ideology guiding the new democratic revolution to win a victory and the people of the entire country to successfully found the People's Republic of China.

In conjunction with the needs of revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong gave serious attention to national traditions and historical heritages. On national traditions, he stressed national culture and revolutionary traditions, and the contributions made by all nationalities to the history of the fatherland. On historical heritages, he made a general assessment. He said: "Our nation has a history of several thousand years; it has its characteristics and many valuable things.... From Confucius to Sun Yat-sen, we should summarize them and carry on these valuable

heritages." ("The Position of the CPC in the National War"). "In China's long feudal society, a magnificent ancient culture was created." ("On the New Democracy"). "We must carry on all the fine literary and artistic heritages." ("Talk at the Yanan Literary Forum"). The "valuable things," "valuable heritages" and "fine literary and artistic heritages" mentioned by him all refer to historical heritages; or, we may say that they are all included in the realm of historical heritages. He highly valued such historical heritages, feeling that "learning our historical heritages and critically summarizing them with the Marxist method constitute another task in our study." ("The Position of the CPC in the National War"). "Another task" was said in relation to learning the Marxist theories and studying the present conditions.

In regard to the method of summarizing the historical heritages, Comrade Mao Zedong felt that one was to sort out the developmental course of ancient culture and the other was to separate the essence from the dross. In other words, we must "separate the fine ancient people's culture, i.e., matters which bear more or less democratic and revolutionary qualities, from all the decadent matters of the ancient feudal ruling class." The purpose of making the distinction is to determine what to discard and what to keep, so that "the feudal dross is discarded and the democratic essence absorbed" ("On the New Democracy") and the mistake of "rejection in toto" or "blind copying" avoided. ("On the Coalition Government").

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed the importance of carrying on the historical heritages and using them as references. First of all, he felt that "it will be a tremendous help in guiding the current great movement." ("The Position of the CPC in the National War"). This is in terms of the overall aspect. All practical political, economic and theoretical struggles need to have historical experiences as references. Next, it is "the necessary condition to raise the national self-confidence." This is in terms of the positive ideological and spiritual influence of historical heritages and cultural traditions on the entire nation. Expounding this point in the years of the war against Japan had a great practical significance. Third, it is also a "necessary condition" to "develop the new culture of the nation" which may be divided into two aspects. In one aspect, "China's new culture today is also developed from the ancient old culture;" therefore, we must not sever history. ("On the New Democracy"). Critically accepting the ancient culture will help "promote China's new culture." ("On the Coalition Government"). In the second aspect, in the course of creating a new culture, "the availability of references will make a difference—the difference between the civilized and the barbarian, between the coarse and the fine, between the high and the low, and between the fast and the slow." ("Talk at the Yanan Literary Forum"). Of the two aspects, the former stresses the inherent links between the new and the old, while the latter involves the direct relationship between the availability of references and the level of the new culture.

Rich in substance, Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on China's history possesses an important guiding significance in the study of Chinese history.

This is manifested not only in his expositions on modern China, but also in those on ancient times. "In terms of the peasant masses, they practiced individual economy for thousands of years, each household constituting a production unit. The decentralized individual production was the economic base of feudal control, sinking the peasants into perpetual poverty." ("Organize"). "Political authority, clan authority, divine authority and the husband's authority, representing the entire feudal patriarchal ideology and system, were the four thick ropes binding the Chinese people, especially the peasants." ("Inspection Report on Hunan's Peasant Movement"). Theories like these, revealing the economic base of China's feudal society and the characteristics and essence of the superstructure and its ideology, are extremely important in our study of China's history of the Middle Ages. What must be particularly stressed is that Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on China's history are all integrated with China's revolutionary reality. His study style of linking theory with practice serves as a shining model to each and every Marxist historiographic worker.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

FUJIAN'S XIANG NAN SPEAKS ON FAMILY PLANNING

OW061351 Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1120 GMT 4 Mar 83

[Text] The provincial party committee and the provincial government held a telephone conference yesterday evening, calling on the localities to make another vigorous effort to promote family planning from now till the busy spring farming season, striking while the iron is hot, to consolidate and develop the results of the family planning propaganda month.

Leading comrades of the provincial party committee, Xiang Nan, Hu Hong and Cheng Xu, attended the telephone conference. Vice Governor (Zhang Heshan) presided over the conference. (Zhang Yaobang), secretary of the Jianyang County Party Committee, and (Wang Kaiyuan), secretary of the Nanjing County Party Committee, spoke at the conference, introducing their previous achievements in carrying out family planning propaganda month activities in a deep-going and down-to-earth way and their future plans. Xiang Nan, first secretary of the provincial party committee, spoke at the conference.

He summarized the current family planning work into eight points: each couple should have only one child; after giving birth to one child, use the loop; after a second child, resolutely obtain a ligation of oviduct or a vasoligation; it is reasonable to (?prevent having a third) child; the county party committees lagging behind must do better; the advanced units should be commended; make another vigorous effort before the busy farming season begins; and after the spring farming season, family planning work should be continued on a regular basis.

Comrade Hu Hong explained the family planning work plan for March. The specific requirements are: 1. the leadership must not relax ideologically, but must continue to pay attention to family work as it did during the propaganda month. 2. It is necessary to conduct deepgoing and continuing propaganda and education, giving consideration to the overall population situation as well as the population, farmland and grain output of each area and village, so that the importance and urgency of family planning will strike deeper root in people's hearts. 3. It is necessary to effectively implement birth control measures. 4. Family planning work should be carried out regularly, in good time and in a meticulous way. 5. Attention should be paid to both production and family planning. During the current All-People Civility and Courtesy Month movement, it is necessary to make family planning as an important component, include it in the pledges to be made by villagers and further improve the family planning responsibility system. 6. It is necessary to improve the working organizations. The county party committees should pay attention to the leading bodies and personnel assignments for the working organizations.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NINGXIA'S POPULATION CONTROL DISCUSSED

#### Shift to Nonagricultural Population

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 83 p 3

[Article: "Overall Control of Population Increase in Our Area"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in a report to the 12th party congress that, "Throughout the development of our country's economy and society, population problems have been extremely important.... Rapid population increase will not only affect the raising of per capita income, but also will cause serious problems in satisfying the needs of staple food and housing supply, education and employment, even possibly affecting the stability of society." Since the founding of the state, total population in our area has increased 220 percent, an annual average increase of 3.7 percent or 100 percent faster than the national average rate, and the nonagricultural population has increased 740 percent, an annual average increase of 6.9 percent or 280 percent faster than the national average. In the past 32 years, the rates of increase of agriculture and industry in our area have both been faster than national average levels. However, due to rapid population increase, according to average per capita production levels, the disparity compared to advanced areas has instead widened. Our area is richly endowed by nature with the Yellow River for irrigation, and prior to 1960 a lot of staple food was annually transferred to support other parts of the country. Due to rapid population increase, since 1970 we have been unable to be self-sufficient in staple food, and every year it has been necessary to transfer it in from outside the area. Strict control of population increase has become a major strategic problem facing our area.

The natural population increase rate in our area has continuously been very high, and in 1963 it reached a high of 40.3 per thousand. Due to the development of family planning work in the past several years, it had dropped by 1981 to 23.6 per thousand, but our's was still the one province (region) with the highest population increase in the whole country, and in Haiyuan, Xiji, Tongxin and Guyan counties the rate was over 30 per thousand and there is still the tendency for it to rise again in the rural areas. The Standing Committee on Autonomous Regions of the National People's Congress approved on 18 August 1982 the "Temporary Provisions for Family Planning in the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region." According to estimates, if we can comprehensively and thoroughly carry out these provisions, the natural population increase rate of our area can drop to approximately 14 per thousand. Since the last half of

1981, the Guyuan area has energetically developed family planning work, and by last May one-third of childbearing age women in the whole area had adopted birth control measures. Their experience has clearly shown that if we do good family planning, control population growth, and at the same time are in accord with the self-interests of the mountainous area Hui people, we can completely realize the goals of the provisions for family planning as long as we do a good job. In the past 32 years, the number of people from other areas who have moved directly to Ningxia, plus the children they have brought up since coming to Ningxia, have constituted approximately 42 percent of the total net population increase in the whole area for the same period. The Ningxia economic base is weak and its science, culture and technology are backward. The party Central Committee had transferred a large group of cadres of minority nationality, intellectuals and skilled workers from all areas throughout the country to Ningxia to strengthen construction. This is necessary now, and in the future as well. But the number of these personnel is indeed not large. The problem lies in the fact that population planning for those who moved in from outside the area in the past was not carefully done, and that a certain number of people moved in who were not needed. This situation still continues to exist. In the 2 years of 1980 and 1981 the net population moved in from outside was 43,000. If things continue like this, it will create a serious influence on population increase in our area. For this reason it is extremely necessary to change the old concept that "Ningxia is a vast territory with abundant resources, its population is sparse, and it needs a large volume of migrants from outside the area." Looking at it from the surface, natural resources in our area are abundant, population per average square km is only half the national average, the average per capita cultivated land is 130 percent more than the national average, and indeed the land is vast and population sparse. But it is necessary to see that in the mountainous areas, due to the imbalanced ecology and the current difficulty in fully utilizing the abundant natural resources, the grain yield per mu of cultivated land in the long term hovers around 90 jin, and it is impossible to be self-sufficient in food grains. Thus, although the land is vast, material is scarce, and products are fairly abundant in an area having the Yellow River for irrigation, the average per capita cultivated land is barely 1.5 mu due to the rapid population increase, and more people should not be allowed to move in.

In the past 32 years, the nonagricultural population in our area has also rapidly increased, and a major cause is the former low base and rapid industrial development, but the crux still lies in the fact that a large quantity of the agricultural population shifted to nonagricultural. This situation currently still seriously exists. Based on preliminary statistics, from 1976 to 1981 the net increase in nonagricultural population in the whole area was 160,000, those in the category of natural increase were approximately 40,000, those who shifted from agricultural were approximately 120,000, and the latter finally reached a high of 28,000 in 1981. Many of these personnel should not have shifted to nonagricultural sectors. In the two cities of Yinchuan and Shizuishan, by the end of 1981 nonagricultural population had increased 1,380 percent over that of 1949, and the annual average increase was 8.8 percent. If agricultural population shifting to nonagricultural population is not strictly controlled in our area in the future, even if family planning work is done very well, the urban population will still rapidly increase, and this will bring

serious problems in all aspects including urban food supply, employment, public facilities, culture and education as well as housing. For this reason, in addition to further clarifying policy limits, the population of the two cities of Yinchuan and Shizuishan especially need strong management.

#### Rural Areas Targeted

Yinchuan NINGXIA RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Su Donghai [5685 2639 3189]: "It Is Necessary To Emphasize Family Planning Work in Rural Areas"]

[Text] In controlling population increase and carrying out family planning, it is necessary to put the stress on the rural areas. This is because:

First, the population base of the rural areas is large and its proportion high. In the 29 provinces, the municipalities and the autonomous regions of the whole country, the urban population is 206 million or 20.6 percent of the total, but the rural population has reached 801.58 million or 79.4 percent. This has determined that the major target of family planning is the rural areas, and all the working personnel, funds, medical items, etc. which are necessary to family planning work must be targeted at the rural areas.

Second, the natural rural population increase rate is high and the speed of increase rapid. Since liberation, the natural rural population increase rate has been continuously higher than the urban rate. Prior to 1975, the annual average natural rural population increase rate was over 30 per thousand, and over 17 million were born annually. In 1981, the natural population increase rate of the whole country had dropped to 15 per thousand, but the net increase in the rural population was still 12 million. Thus, as long as there is a decrease in the natural rural population increase rate and a control over the rapid rural population increase, then rapid population increase in the whole country will basically be brought under control.

Third, contradictions between the increase in rural population and the decrease in per capita cultivated land have determined that the focus of family planning work must be on the rural areas. There are 1.5 billion mu of cultivated land in our country. During the initial post-liberation period, the rural population was 450 million and per capita cultivated land was 3.3 mu. Currently the rural population is over 800 million, per capita cultivated land has dropped to 1.8 mu, and per capita cultivated land in some brigades and communes near cities and towns is minuscule. Our country's potential for expanding the cultivated area is not large, and if rural population increase is too fast, it can seriously affect the development of agricultural production.

Fourth, the multiple-birth rate of the rural population is high, and the birth control rate is low. The backwardness of the rural economy and culture and the serious effects of the old concepts of emphasizing males and disparaging females and thinking that more sons will make one wealthier have caused the rural multiple-birth rate to be far higher than the urban one and the birth control rate and single-child rate to be far lower. In our area for example, in 1980 the urban multiple-birth rate of over three births was 23 percent in the whole

area, but in the rural areas it had reached a high of 43.9 percent. In 1981 the urban multiple-birth rate of over three births had dropped to 9 percent, but in the rural areas had increased to 47.2 percent. In 1980 the urban birth control rate was 84.4 percent, but in the rural areas was barely 43.7 percent. By the end of 1982, among the over 15,000 urban population of Yongning County, couples receiving single-child certification had reached 254, but among the over 135,000 rural population, there were only 20 couples receiving single-child certification.

From the above several aspects it is not hard to see that as long as we stress family planning work in rural areas, we can be considered to have grasped the major contradictions in family planning work, and be able to practically and effectively control population increase.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POPULATION, EDUCATION ANALYZED

Xian RENWEN ZAZHI [HUMANITIES MAGAZINE] in Chinese No 5, Oct 82 pp 51-57

[Article by Tian Jiasheng [3944 1367 4141] and Li Limin [2621 0448 3046]: "On Population and Education"]

[Text] The excessively fast development of the population and education's failure to adapt to the four modernizations are two comparatively acute current problems in our country. Population and education are related in economics. To solve these two problems once and for all will require hard work to develop production and promote economic prosperity. However, it should still be noted that population and education are both conditions for the existence and development of human society, and that the two are intimately related. The target of education is the population and education is a condition for the development of the population; the two affect and condition each other. Therefore, it is our belief that there is a great need to explore the relationship between population and education and find regular patterns there, and then use what has been found to guide our practice and harmonize the production of material goods with human reproduction so as to increase the pace of the four modernizations.

#### How Population Affects and Conditions Education

The population is the target of the services of education and makes demands on its development. The composition according to age of a population indicates the numbers of people who need to receive education at various levels; the professional composition of a population decides the distribution of schools. Population as a key element of the economic structure conditions and restricts economic development and affects the material base for educational development, thereby restricting its scope and pace.

If the birth rate is high and there are many children and youths, the numbers of people who need education increases and the demands made on the educational sector necessarily increases.

Projecting from data obtained from a selective survey done on the population of some areas of our country from 1975 to 1978, figures concerning youth and children 18 years of age or under in 1980 were as follows:<sup>1</sup>

<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Present Age (1980)</u>	<u>Numbers (in 10,000's)</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Present Age (1980)</u>	<u>Numbers (in 10,000's)</u>
1962	18	2,350	1969	11	2,561
1963	17	2,749	1970	10	2,644
1964	16	2,437	1971	9	2,573
1965	15	2,491	1972	8	2,474
1966	14	2,422	1973	7	2,377
1967	13	2,370	1974	6	2,146
1968		2,663			

If the numbers for all above age-groups are added up, the numbers of children and youth in 1980 from age 6 to 18 come to a total of 322.63 million. They were born during an unprecedented peak period in the birth rate of our country, with an average of over 24.8 million children born every year. These figures show that in recent years, the numbers of children who need to attend elementary school each year in our country are now over 20 million. This places a great burden on our efforts to establish universal elementary education and puts much pressure on secondary and higher education.

A similar situation also exists in the rest of the world. From 1960 to 1968 the world's population increased from slightly under 3 billion to almost 3.5 billion. There was a great increase in this 8-year period of 17 percent; the yearly growth rate exceeded 2 percent. During the same period, the total number of schoolage (from 5 to 19 years old) population increased by over 20 percent, from approximately 955 million to 1.15 billion.

An increase in the total number of the schoolage population implies an increase in the number of people who need education. To meet the demands of these people for education, educational facilities and services must develop correspondingly. Otherwise, the numbers of illiterates will go up and the scientific and educational level of the entire nation will go down.

From 1953 to 1962, an average of 17 million children were born each year; from 1962 to 1974 an average of 24 million were born each year. In 1981, 22 million children entered the first year of elementary school.<sup>2</sup> Despite great development and achievements in education in our country since liberation, due to the fact that we didn't have a good foundation to start with, education could not keep up with the growth of the population. With an increase in the numbers of children and schoolage population, contradictions became even more outstanding. Moreover, because of the serious interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," even today there is universal elementary education in areas that take up only 25 percent of the entire country's population; 60 percent are close to having universal education, and in other areas the gap is even bigger.<sup>3</sup> The percentage of schoolage children enrolling in school in the nation overall is 94 percent; however, the consolidated rate for those who finish 5 years of elementary education has only reached 60-odd percent, and of these children, there are some who have not really reached the level of an elementary school graduate.<sup>4</sup>

The inability of education to meet the educative needs of the school-age population is also reflected in secondary and higher education. In our country 12 percent of elementary school graduates still cannot go on to junior middle school, and over 50 percent of junior middle school graduates cannot go on to senior middle school; and only 5 percent of senior middle school graduates can go on to universities. In America, Japan, France and West Germany, 40 to 50 percent of senior middle school graduates go on to universities.

It is necessary that the educational structure be adapted to the occupational structure and geographical distribution of the population. Of our country's nearly 1 billion people, 800 million are peasants and over 500 million are laborers, of which over 300 million are engaged in agricultural labor. Every year from 20 to 26 million people generally become old enough to go to work; of this figure, over 90 percent are agricultural laborers. This demonstrates that we must make a great effort to raise the scientific and cultural level of the rural population, and improve the quality of the agricultural labor force. At present there is a sharp gap in our country between education in the country and in the city. On one hand, we have to admit there is a gap; and on the other hand, we must take effective measures to gradually close that gap. Therefore, we have to make a great effort to develop rural education. In addition to making elementary education universal and wiping out illiteracy in the countryside, we must take measures suitable to local conditions and establish some technical schools, night schools and training classes to train people in subjects such as agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fish-raising and farm machineries. If this is not done, agricultural production cannot increase and the four modernizations will not be carried out well.

A large population that increases quickly needs more means of subsistence, more consumer goods. This will affect the proportion occupied by accumulation in the distribution of the national income, and be a drag on economic construction. If economic construction develops slowly, per capita national income cannot be increased, which will affect negatively the increase of money for education, thereby postponing the development of education. A large, blind increase in population not only creates a heavy burden for society and the economy, it will inevitably hinder the development of cultural and educational facilities and services as well. A large, rapid growing population has a negative effect on the accumulation of construction capital--this has been a profound historical lesson for us since liberation. In 1979 it was estimated that in the countryside it took 1,600 yuan to raise a child to the age of 16; 4,800 yuan in towns and smaller cities, and 6,900 yuan in large cities. Given the proportions for the birth rate in the countryside and city (87.2 percent of births occur in rural areas; 4.2 percent in towns and 8.6 percent in cities), and according to the above-mentioned child-care costs, the state, collectives and families paid out as much as 1 trillion yuan to raise the over 600 million children born since liberation; that is equivalent to approximately 30 percent of the grand total of each year's national income since liberation. If 30 percent of that was taken care of by the state and collective, and 70 percent was paid by individual families, the expenses covered by the state and collective came to 390 billion yuan, or 30 percent of all capital accumulated since liberation.<sup>5</sup> If only 400 million children instead of 600 million had been born since liberation, there would have been sufficient population reproduction to meet the state's labor needs for

economic construction, and it could have saved the state and collective 130 billion yuan in child-rearing expenses. Remarkable results could be achieved using such a large sum of money on economic construction. The economy would be developed, the state enriched, money for education would increase, and there would be a solid material base for developing education.

A large, rapid-growing population has a direct repercussion on the increase of funds for education. In recent years, funds for education in countries around the world have increased rapidly--investment in education is referred to as "human resource development." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," the total sum of outlay for education in our country has increased, but due to the fast increase in the population, an average of only 7.3 yuan was spent per person in 1978.<sup>6</sup>

The experience of Shaanxi Province also illustrates this line of reasoning. According to a survey, a great increase of students there has created a shortage of funds for education, and there are not nearly enough school buildings, desks, chairs, teaching aids and equipment. There are approximately 2 million and more students throughout the province who don't have chairs to sit on, and have no choice but to bring them from home. Poor conditions have adversely affected the quality of the students' studies and physical health.

A large, fast-growing population with particularly a large number of young people has adversely affected the relationship between the popularization and the raising of standards in education. To carry out economic construction as part of modernization, we need to train many people in professional skills; this requires that the educational departments establish more universities and secondary technical schools. However, because of the great number of children and young people, approximately one-fourth of the entire population is composed of elementary and secondary school students; the state has no choice but to allocate a fairly large amount of money every year from out of the limited educational funds to run secondary and elementary schools. Expenses for mass, general education squeeze out funds for higher education and technical secondary education--this can only have a negative effect on the development of specialized personnel.

#### Education's Reaction on the Population

Education is a social phenomenon that consciously and purposefully molds human development. It has two social functions: First, it enables the younger generation to adapt to the current forces of production and to learn how to produce; second, it helps the younger generation to adapt to current relations of production so that they can participate in life in the society. Humanity can continue and society develop only with education. Education is a necessary condition for the reproduction of the population. Population itself is always developing, and goes through a renewal process of birth, growth and death generation after generation. The main component of the population is the laboring population; education is a necessary condition for the reproduction of the labor force. Population is reproduced via the process of birth, whereas education is an important factor in influencing a person's concepts of birth and childrearing. Education and human self-production are interconnected in different ways and forms in every historical period. Both the growth

of the individual and the development of the entire population are inseparable from education. Education can affect both the quality and size of the population.

Education is an important means with which the quality of the population can be raised. By quality of the population we are referring to people's physical state, level of ideology, morality and education, knowledge of science and labor skills. In other words, the quality of the population includes morality, knowledge and physical health. The quality of one's health includes the state of one's physical health and the structure and functioning of the cerebrum. When a person's body and mind are in good health, and he is full of energy, he has the material conditions for mastering a higher level of learning, science and labor skills. This is the natural base of population quality. One's ideological and moral level is a reflection of one's mental and spiritual state. By level of learning and science, we are referring to the degree of mastery of basic science and general knowledge. By labor skills, we refer to the degree to which one has mastered the accumulated knowledge, experience and scientific achievements of past generations. The above three factors can be said to be conditions for and ability to attain self-knowledge and transform the world. Population quality is a comprehensive concept. Factors that affect population quality are complex and diverse, and include natural factors as well as social factors, and congenital factors as well as acquired factors. Among these many elements, education plays the main role.

The congenital factors that affect population quality are called genetic qualities, in which we refer to biological characteristics people get from previous generations, mainly anatomical and physiological characteristics inherited at birth such as skin and hair color, blood type, nerve type, body type, and state of sensory organs and the nervous system. These physical characteristics are inherited and form the biological prerequisites of human development. Everyone becomes a concrete person of one type or another based on inherited qualities.

It's a Marxist position to recognize the existence of genetic differences among people. Inherited qualities provide for the individual certain possibilities for development and form the material foundation for the development of a specific man. However, inherited qualities are only conditions for human development and cannot decide man's development. It is the acquired environment and education that are decisive in the process of man's development.

Environment refers to man's surroundings, such as the natural environment, the family environment and the social environment. In other words, it refers to the objects that a person has concrete contact with. The environment has a spontaneous effect on a person's development. For example, the family, friends and relatives, neighbors, social mores, characteristics of one's locality and habits and customs among the people all exercise a subtle influence on a person's development. The old saying, "he who stays near vermillion gets stained red, and he who stays near ink becomes black" illustrates well the effect of the environment on the individual.

Although the influence of the environment on people is broad and constant, it is also spontaneous and unplanned. Education is an activity that consciously and purposely seeks to influence people in a planned, systematic fashion according to the demands of a particular society or class. Education in schools in particular influences students' physical and mental development in a planned, systematic way via definite organizational forms. By utilizing the effects of both genetic and environmental factors, education is able to promote positive factors and suppress negative factors. Therefore, compared with the effects of the genetic factor on human development, it is education that plays the major role.

The role of education in improving population quality is obvious. First of all, by engaging in widespread propaganda and conducting education and eugenics, parents can prevent the occurrence of inherited diseases; conducting education on physical health and hygiene can enable the newly born generation to grow up healthy with stronger physique. Secondly, ideological, political and moral education can cause the younger generation to develop the world-view and moral qualities demanded of it by a particular class or society. Thirdly, education can raise the general knowledge and skills level of laborers. A person cannot by himself become part of the labor force when he becomes old enough to work. Education is required to provide people with the ability to work. The level of education in any given society directly decides the educational and skill level of the labor force. In addition, with the development of modern production and the increasingly fast rate by which knowledge becomes obsolete due to the replacement of old industries with the new, the effect of education in improving the educational and skills level of laborers becomes greater and greater. This is markedly manifested in the expansion of the audience of education--adults have to be educated as well as children and youth. People must not only be educated before they start to work, but must constantly continue to be educated after they are employed as well. Some economically developed countries are now calling for "life-long education," that is the utilization of education's role in improving the quality of the population.

Education is also an important means in controlling population growth. The relation between education and the birth rate has long since been the object of concern of sociologists and demographers. In recent years, foreign scholars have been re-examining the subject. Some scholars believe that there is a causal relation between education and the birth rate, that education is the independent variable and that the birth rate is the dependent variable. The achievement of certain educational norms have a direct effect in lowering the birth rate. Some sociologists in the Soviet Union believe that the raising of the educational level of parents leads to a lowering of the birth rate. Their conclusions were based on a survey done in 1967 (see chart below):<sup>7</sup>

If can be seen from the chart that people with a higher level of education have less children, and that people with a lower level of education have more children.

**Numbers of Children Born to Women (30 to 35 years old) Before the Age of 35  
According to Education Level Per 100 Women**

Educational Level	Numbers of children
Higher education	151
Secondary education	172
Have not completed secondary education	194
Elementary education and below	226

An American demographer, Kedeweier [2688 1795 1218 1422], believes that the birth rate can be lowered by making education universal. His painstaking examination of the periods of time in which universal education and lower birth rates were achieved in America, Australia and a number of European countries proves the causal relation between the two.

In our country practice has shown that universal education and the raising of the educational level also have the effect of lowering the birth rate--this can be demonstrated by the differences in the birth rates in the urban and rural areas of our country. The degree to which universal education has been achieved in our cities generally exceeds that of the countryside. This is reflected in the lower urban birth rate as compared with rural areas. According to statistics, China's birth rate in the cities in 1965 was 27.61 out of 1,000; in the countryside it was 39.53 out of 1,000. In 1975 the urban birth rate was 15.25 out of 1,000, while in the countryside it was 24.17. The effect that improving the educational level has on lowering the birth rate can be shown by a typical population study of the Fusuijing residential district of Beijing (taken from RENKOU ANJIU [POPULATION RESEARCH] No 1, 1981). This survey tells us that: women of childbearing age with different levels of education will have differing rates of giving birth to one child. The higher the educational level, the greater the chance they will have one child.

**Rate of One Child Birth in Fusuijing District by Women of Various Educational Levels**

Categories	Junior Secondary School	Senior Secondary School	University	Total
Number of women of child-bearing age with only one child	2,912	713	200	3,825
Number of those having already received one-child certificates	2,666	678	191	3,535
Percentage of only one child	91.55	95.09	95.5	92.42

According to a survey done by Comrade Feng Zhonghui [7458 1813 5610] of the Xi'an Medical School on marriage and reproduction among women of childbearing age in Shaanxi Province, practically one-third of births in the countryside in 1978 were third children; in the cities the figure was less than one-fourth. This also shows that it is easier to conduct birth control in the cities where the cultural and educational level is higher than in the countryside where it is low.

Why does education have an effect on the control of the size of the population? This is due to the characteristics involved in the production of population. Production of population is different from production of material goods in that it is conducted in the family by husband and wife. The decision on whether or not to have children, how many children to have and when to have them is made through discussion by the husband and wife. Even though the production of the population is a process of society as a whole that is decided by various factors and is affected by important elements such as the economy, biology and society, it is, in the end, a form of population behavior controlled by the thinking of husband and wife. Proceeding from this particularity, education can have a great effect in birth control. Through education, reasoning, figuring out the advantages and making comparisons, we can spread knowledge concerning birth control, broaden the minds of women of child-bearing age, improve their understanding and help them gain a scientific view of reproduction, so that they can consciously practice birth control. There are countless examples of this in our country. The vast ranks of our grassroots birth control cadres do this sort of work every day. Improving the masses' understanding by propaganda and education has been one of our great achievements in promoting birth control.

It should be pointed out that economics is inseparable from an analysis of how education affects and conditions the population. The development of education requires a definite amount of economic strength; an investment of manpower is needed whether it be in society or in the family. Education itself must have as a prerequisite a definite economic level. Solving the population problem needs various conditions of which the most important is economic development. Therefore, if we wish to give full rein to the role of education in affecting and controlling the population, it is necessary, in the final analysis, to develop the economy. Once the economy is developed and the state has ample financial resources, expenditures for education can be greatly increased, which will result in the development of educational facilities and services and will enable us to make achievements in the field of population control.

#### **Education Should Be Suited to the Population**

From the above analysis it can be clearly seen that population and education are prerequisites for each other, and affect and condition each other. The goal of understanding the relation between population and education is to enable our education and population to suit each other and to give free rein to the effect of education in controlling the population and in improving its quality.

In order to suit education in our country with the population, the understanding of the cadres must first be raised. Cadres at all levels of leadership on the education front and the vast ranks of the teachers should have a clear and definite concept of population in their minds. As for the relationship between education and population, not all comrades on the educational front have a clear understanding. Therefore, when they engage in education, they seldom consider the factor of population. The Marxist concept of the "two types of production" is now widely disseminated. With this recognition of the relationship of the "two types of production," people are faced with the new question of the relationship between education and population. If education is to spur on the four modernizations, the leadership at all levels and the vast ranks of teachers on the education front must consciously come to recognize the relationship between education and population, understand that population is the object of education's services, and must dedicate their efforts in improving the quality of the population and in controlling its growth.

The state must increase its investment in education in order to suit our education with the population. At present, education in our country is far from being able to meet the demands of the development of the national economy; this is concretely manifested as follows: 1. The scope of our nurseries and child-care centers cannot meet the demands of early education. 2. The number of pupils enrolled in elementary schools is lower than the number of schoolage children. 3. The number of admissions into universities and secondary technical schools are not producing nearly enough of the specialized personnel necessary to the development of our national economy. To improve this situation, the state must increase its investments in education. "The cleverest housewife can't make a meal without rice"--little can be done without money. Since liberation, the proportion of the gross national product occupied by investment in education has always tended to be small. In the 32 years since liberation, outlay for education in our country has only been on the average, a little over 1 percent of the GNP for industry and agriculture, or around 6 percent of the state's total financial expenditures. Whereas in other countries of the world at present, outlays for education are generally above 4 percent of the GNP, and around 20 percent of state budget expenditures. Our low outlay for education cannot but have a negative effect on the development of education and cannot but affect the bringing into play the role of education.

If education is to be in balance with the state of the population, we must focus our attention on the problem of rural education. An outstanding characteristic of China's population is that there are many people in the countryside--800 million peasants out of a population of 1 billion. There are 300 million people in the rural labor force, which is an indication of the backwardness of production in the countryside. Raising the intelligence level of the rural population is a necessary prerequisite if agricultural production is to be modernized. The main way to increase the production of crops, outside of relying on the effects of governmental policies, is to rely on science and technology. The cultivation of better varieties of crops, mechanization of agriculture, electrification, use of chemical fertilizers and so on all require that agricultural laborers attain a definite educational level and have a certain understanding of science. However, as much as 50 percent of young and ablebodied people in the countryside are either illiterate or semiliterate;

only 40 percent have elementary school education. Therefore, at present approximately two-thirds of our achievements in rural technology have not yet been popularized or utilized. This situation shows that if the quality of the rural population is not raised soon, it will be very difficult to modernize China's agriculture.

If we are to balance the relation between education and the state of the population, we must put a great effort into developing secondary technical education and higher education. The social function of education manifests itself through the training of people. Education is a necessary requirement for the reproduction of the labor force.

What type of people should be trained? On what standards should manpower be trained cannot be decided on by relying on one's subjective imagination; it must proceed from current needs in the production of material goods. The constant improving of the composition of production technology based on modern science and technology is an objective law of the motion of the forces of production. In sum, the proportion of the forces of production to the means of production is conditioned by the law of the motion of the structure of productive technology. This law requires that the size of the labor force be compared with and reduced relative to production development, and that its quality must continually be raised. This law also demands that the labor force and the means of production be proportionally combined with each other. Only in this way, can the production of material goods be quickly developed. Once this is recognized, an effort must be made to make the development of education in China adjust to the demands made on the size and quality of the labor force by the law of the motion of the composition of the technology of production; an effort must be made to enable education structural reform to adjust to the demands of economic structural reform. To put it more concretely, we must appropriately control the development of full-time secondary education, recruit more students into institutions of higher education and technical secondary schools, set up more secondary vocational schools according to different local needs, and make a great effort to restore and develop spare-time adult education.

In the 13 years from 1980 to 1993, we will have an average of over 24 million young people entering into the society every year. If our institutions of higher education do not increase the number of students recruited, and continue to enroll 300,000 every year, only 1.25 percent of all youth will have an opportunity to get a higher education. And with approximately 600,000 students enrolling every year in secondary technical schools, only 3.75 percent will be able to obtain a specialized education at a secondary or higher level. Clearly, such a small percentage cannot meet the demands that the implementation of the four modernizations have towards the training of specialized personnel. In order to solve this problem, we must work hard to develop higher education, secondary technical education, and spare-time education, and reform the educational structure of our country, and thereby gradually improve the educational composition of our population.

To make education in China and the state of our population adapt to each other, we must conduct widespread, indepth population education. By population education we mean education on the science of demography, and the objective laws of

human self-production and reproduction. It will be impossible for mankind to control its numbers and increase in a planned fashion without knowledge of the science of demography. Demography, or the science of population, is a very comprehensive frontier science with a substantial content, including both natural and social sciences, and touches on the relationships between population and economics, society, geography, ecology, genetics, eugenics and so on. The "Beijing Declaration on Population and Development," passed at the conference of Asian legislators on population and development held in October 1981 in Beijing, states that, "Bringing population education into formal and informal education systems prepares youth to become responsible citizens and to participate in the implementation of various programs concerning development and population." This clearly points out the function of population education.

Our Ministry of Education has already designated population education as an important part of the curriculum in the schools. Population education at the secondary school stage is to be divided into the following two areas: the first is to have health and hygiene courses at the junior secondary school stage where knowledge concerning physiology of the reproductive system and puberty can be taught. This will enable the students to understand the structure of the reproductive functioning of the human body, the process by which life is formed and puberty hygiene. Second, starting at the senior secondary school level, education should be conducted in basic demography including the fundamental principles of demography, the history and present state of the development of China's population, the relationship between population control and the carrying out of socialist modernization and our government's objectives and basic policies in population control.

There are 10 normal colleges across the country that have set up population education centers and have taken the special responsibility for preparing teaching materials and training secondary school teachers. In institutions of higher education, population education for university students is generally conducted through lectures and elective courses.

This is the first time in the history of education in China that population education has been brought into the formal education system. The practice of the last 2 years has shown that population education meets social needs, and that it has produced marked results. The problem now is that only a small number of schools have set up curricula in population education, which is not widespread enough. Also population education has to be conducted in the society as well as in formal schools. At present, there is a pressing need to popularize scientific knowledge of genetics and eugenics among the people. This is vitally important to improve the quality of our population and to promote national prosperity.

#### FOOTNOTES

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON REFORM OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

HK031430 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Deng Xuchu [6772 2485 0443], secretary of the Shanghai Jiaotong University CPC Committee: "How We Carry Out Reform of School Administration"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Abstract: A series of new situations on the higher education front in our country calls for the reform of school administration. In carrying out reform, we should not wait until the central authorities set forth a ready-made plan but should actively make experiments. The aim of reform is to change a serious situation in universities and colleges characterized by "everybody eating from the same bit pot" and to bring into full play the positive role of the broad section of intellectuals in the four modernizations drive. In administrative reform, it is necessary to 1) adhere to the principle of starting off with ideological education and make full preparations; 2) pay full attention to the special features of universities and colleges and refrain from concentrating on economic income; 3) put daring above all else and be brave in smashing the bonds of some rules and regulations with departments at the higher levels allowing the lower levels to study, make experiments and effect a breakthrough; and 4) refrain from accomplishing the task in one go but to carry out reform in the entire process of the four modernizations drive. In reforming higher education, it is also necessary to give schools some decision-making power.  
[end of abstract]

I

In building socialism with Chinese characteristics, all fronts are confronted with the question of "going down to the realities of life and spotting problems, and of breaking with conventions and blazing new trails." At present, our higher education front is faced with the following problems: 1) The tasks we shoulder are arduous. In an effort to suit the needs of the four modernizations drive, it is necessary for scientific and technological education to start off before the others and provide the various fronts with a large number of high-quality scientific and technical personnel. 2) It is necessary to conscientiously sum up our experiences in running schools in the past three decades. It is necessary to make clear which experiences are correct and still applicable; which experiences are inapplicable today though they were correct at one time; which experiences are wrong and should be discarded today; and which experiences have

something to recommend them but have to be further improved and developed. 3) Due to the serious destruction of the "10 years of turmoil," a situation characterized by "everybody eating from the same big pot" is still growing and becomes a serious stumbling block to the cause of higher education.

Being an old school, the outstanding problems of the Shanghai Jiaotong University are quite typical. Before the reform, the school had a total of more than 4,800 teachers, staff members and workers, including 2,000 teachers (1,300 of them were professors and lecturers). The proportion between teachers, staff members and workers on the one hand and students on the other was nearly 1:1 while that between teachers and students was 1:2.4. Compared with the period before the "Cultural Revolution," the total number of teachers, staff members and workers has increased by 1,700 people, including about [phrase indistinct]: 1) too many competent persons. Half of the 2,000 teachers did not have sufficient work or tasks and many teachers who had a high level of professional skills did not have the opportunities to put their ability to good use. 2) the situation of having more hands than needed resulted in low efficiency. Teachers with professional knowledge gave an average of 1.5 hours of lectures a week and mutual evasion of responsibility and procrastination existed in office work. 3) it was difficult to raise the standard of teachers. Due to insufficient work for a long period of time, [words indistinct] few teachers were not subjected to work pressure. [Phrase indistinct], 20 years. This made it difficult to train competent persons. 4) as a result of over-staffing, it was impossible to utilize new emerging forces and improvement of the structure of teachers' ranks and the establishment of an academic echelon became a problem. If the above-mentioned situations had not changed, the school would have had no prospects.

In carrying out reform, universities and colleges should not wait until the central authorities have set forth a ready-made plan but should actively make experiments. This is because the aim of our reform is to solve the problem of "everybody eating from the same big pot," fully tap the potential of the intellectuals and make more contributions to the state; without increasing the financial expenditure of the state, to appropriately improve the livelihood and remuneration of the intellectuals, which is conducive to the implementation of the policy toward the intellectuals. Furthermore, it is impossible to have a unified pattern in reform. More often than not the lower levels go on creating and developing the symptoms that have emerged. After summing up and developing experiences, the higher authorities formulated a plan which was then popularized. This practice conforms to the theory of knowledge.

## II

Generally speaking, the administrative reform of the Shanghai Jiaotong University has undergone four stages.

1. Circulate competent persons./ Strictly speaking, the circulation of competent persons cannot be regarded as an administrative reform. However, it plays the positive role of readjusting the structure of teachers' ranks and superseding the old by the new. Since 1979, our school has transferred to other

units 448 teachers, staff members and workers, including 274 teachers, 28 cadres and 146 workers. Of these teachers and cadres, 137 were transferred to other teaching units, accounting for 46 percent of the total; 103 were transferred to industrial departments, accounting for 34 percent; 29 were transferred to scientific and research units, accounting for 9 percent; and 33 were transferred to the fraternal provinces and municipalities, accounting for 11 percent. At the same time, we recruited from other units some pathbreakers and key teachers in other branches of learning and employed a considerable number of outstanding research students and graduates to strengthen the ranks of teachers.

/2. Fix the organic structure of personnel./ Fixing the organic structure constitutes a basis for the administrative reform. Following the circulation of competent persons, the structure of teachers' ranks became more and more rational and the initiative of teachers was further aroused. On this basis, in accordance with the regulations of the Ministry of Education and in light of the actual conditions in our school, we formulated the "calculation methods and distribution plan for fixing organic structure" and "methods for carrying out the work of fixing organic structure," stipulating that the proportion between teachers and students (regular college course) was 1:6 and that between teachers, staff members and workers in the school proper and students was 1:2.6, thus clearly defining the number of personnel in organic structure. The steps of fixing organic structure were from the leading comrades to the masses and from the administrative organ to the grassroots levels. The number of secretaries of the party committee was fixed at three and that of presidents, six. The administrative organ was simplified with 6 departments amalgamated into 3, and 12 administrative offices and 1 general party branch of the administrative organ abolished. At the same time, we also paid close attention to handling retirement of teachers, staff members and workers. By the end of last year, more than 400 people had gone through the formalities of retirement. By fixing organic structure we were able to make rational arrangements for work according to the organic structure, and the grassroots would not ask for unlimited number of personnel. The school had the basis for replenishing teachers and adjusting personnel, thus changing a situation characterized by uneven distribution of work. We were able to make a careful and detailed calculation in utilizing personnel.

'3. Formulate the "standards for teachers' work" and the "system of personal responsibility for administrative office."/ After fixing the organic structure of personnel, we set forth, in the "standards for teachers' work," our specific requirements for the different work teachers engaged in, stipulating that every teacher should not only do a good job of his teaching work but also engage in scientific research with an annual work amount of no less than 1,680 class hours (the work amount of teachers engaged in scientific research can be converted into work points). Moreover, we also put forward clear-cut requirements in various aspects, such as the supervision of research students by teachers, participation in experiments and publication of academic papers. We also put forward approximate requirements for the number of years set for the promotion of various categories of teachers. At the same time, the party and administrative organs of the school and departments instituted the system of personal responsibility, clearly defining the scopes of responsibilities of various departments and the specific responsibilities of the various personnel as well as the assessment methods.

/4. Issue allowances to teachers in various posts./ After the administrative reform, the work amount of the whole school increased by one-third and scientific research tasks increased by 100 percent. The work load of teachers increased by a big margin. Low income and poor health of middle-aged teachers made it difficult for them to shoulder the heavy burden for a long time. For this reason, beginning from July last year, we issued some post and title allowances to teachers who had met the requirements stipulated in the "standards for teachers' work" but whose work did not conform to the grades of their posts. Our principles for issuing allowances were: 1) the expenditure was collected from the income created by the school and this would not increase state expenditure. For example, in 1982, the entire school received an income of more than 1.5 million yuan from its technical service in other units but it paid only 140,000 yuan for post allowances; 2) the level of allowances did not exceed the average level of factory bonus in Shanghai; 3) we did not practice egalitarianism and our focal point was to increase the income of middle-aged teachers. We issued more allowances to those whose wages were on the low side and who had made great contributions and we issued less or no allowances to those who had made little contributions and who received high wages. Although little money is involved but this could play the role of arousing the initiative of teachers because it was issued according to the talents of people. After the reform, a new atmosphere appeared in school work. Teachers with rich experience shouldered heavier work load so that teaching quality has been raised. In the past, it was very difficult to increase the number of students to be recruited. Now, everybody strives to recruit more students. Last year, we planned to recruit 1,300 students. When tendering plans, all units wanted to recruit 200 more students. For a long time in the past, teachers waited for the assignation of scientific research work but now they strive for the work on their own initiative. Some people who were formerly satisfied with the existing state of affairs, who idled away their time by relying on the system of "everybody eating from the same big pot" and who were lax in discipline have received a great impact and some of them have markedly changed. The state of affairs characterized by "everybody eating from the same big pot" has initially changed.

In the course of administrative reform, we have gained the following superficial understandings: /1) It is necessary to begin with ideological work./ For example, at each step of the reform, whether formulating a plan or making arrangements, we held informal discussion meetings, CPC committee meetings, cadre meetings at the school, departmental and administrative office levels and mobilization meetings of teachers, staff members and workers of the school. Only when the key members hold identical views and gain a unified understanding is it possible to promote reform. If we act rashly without making full preparations and without listening to the views of the masses but instead suddenly announce the implementation of a plan concocted by leaders behind closed doors, disorder will surely occur. /2) It is necessary to pay full attention to the special characteristics of universities and colleges and avoid turning the reform into one of exclusively seeking economic profit. Some people say that universities and colleges are "institutions which have nothing to do with money" and that they can make money through reform. This is an erroneous view. Reform can indeed expand financial resources but this is by no means a primary aim of reform. The primary task of universities and colleges is to train competent persons. They should first and foremost ensure the fulfillment of tasks such as teaching and scientific research (including a certain amount of basic scientific research)

assigned by the state. Even service to other units should also be closely integrated with the development and construction of their branches of learning. We should not "work energetically where there is big profit but work listlessly when there is little profit." At the same time, the intellectuals are engaged in complicated labor which cannot be measured with simple calculation. The first thing that comes to their mind is that their labor should be correctly evaluated and the second is certain amounts of remuneration. So long as society acknowledges the fruits of their labor, they will also be able to understand even if we are temporarily not in a position to remunerate them because of the economic difficulty of the state. In this sense, solving the question of promotion for teachers is more important than any salary increase. We should never attend to trifles to the neglect of essentials. /3) Reform will inevitably smash the bonds of some rules and regulations./ An important feature of the current reform is that it should be carried out under the present system, that is to say, under the restrictions of a series of rules and regulations stipulated by the unreformed system. This constitutes a contradiction. The reform precisely makes progress under the specific conditions in which this contradiction is constantly solved. Therefore, it is necessary for reformers to place daring above everything else and to be bold in breaking with some rules and conventions. Departments at the higher levels should allow the lower levels to study, make experiments and effect a breakthrough. [phrase indistinct]: It is necessary to carry out an all-round and systematic reform. That is to say, all fronts, areas, departments and units have the task of reform. They all have to do away with outmoded conventions and styles which hinder our progress. They all have to study and solve new problems, sum up new experiences and formulate new rules and regulations. /4) In reform, we should not try to accomplish the task in one go. We cannot finish our reform once and for all. It should be carried out in the entire process of the four modernizations. In the course of reform, a new imbalance is liable to emerge after some conventions have been broken with. It is then necessary to study new conditions and continuously improve the methods of reform. This is a process of constant reform, creation and perfection.

To perfect the reform in the Shanghai Jiaotong University, we should study the question of carrying out further reform in depth in accordance with the spirit of the instructions of the CPC Central Committee and the State Council. In retrospect, we have attained some results in our reform in previous stages. This is due to the role played by "two standards" and "two levers." The two standards are: 1) make clear the specific standards of teachers in various posts and titles and stipulate the requirements that should be met in promotion; 2) formulate the working standards of teachers and point out clearly the amount and quality of work teachers should finish. The two levers are: 1) to create working conditions for teachers and provide them the stage to give full play to their talents. All this is advantageous to the promotion of teachers. 2) to practice the principle of distribution according to work in light of the implementation of the standards in order to prevent the system of "everybody eating from the same big pot." In this way, the work of teachers is integrated not only with their economic profit but, what is more important, with their promotion, thus arousing their initiative.

Recently we also considered the question of carrying out further reform in depth, that is, to introduce "contracted responsibility" into the reform of universities and colleges. In carrying out reform, it is necessary to have some decision-making power. Otherwise, it will be inconceivable to conduct it successfully. In the course of reforming Jiaotong University in previous stages, we profoundly realized that the inadaptability of the relations of production to the development of productive forces exists to a serious extent. This problem exists both within and outside the school. Therefore, taking advantage of the opportunity to study and implement the guidelines of the important speech of Comrade Hu Yaobang, we are now studying and experimenting on the methods of how to transfer power to a lower level and reduce the flow of data in order to raise to a maximum degree the efficiency of office work of university and its departments. At the same time, we shall also take this opportunity to call on the Ministry of Education and other leading bodies at the higher levels to speedily study the question of further expanding the decision-making power of universities and colleges in order to turn our universities and colleges into socialist universities with high efficiency and Chinese characteristics.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### UTILIZATION OF SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL PERSONNEL IMPROVED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Hu Ping [5170 1627]: "Improve Management and Utilization of Competent Scientists and Technicians"]

[Text] Through over 30 years of efforts, our country has initially trained a scientific and technical rank in proper quantity and quality, the total number of scientific and technical personnel at all levels and of all kinds has increased from the some tens of thousands in the initial period of the founding of the state to the current over 6 million, and included among them are a group of superior, world-renowned scientists and engineering and technical specialists. But in certain respects the utilization and management system of qualified scientists and technicians in our country is still not very rational, and a considerable group of qualified scientists and technicians cannot fully play their roles. Along with the comprehensive development in the modernization, the contradictions between the urgent need for qualified personnel and their improper utilization are becoming increasingly acute and in urgent demand of a prompt solution.

The readjustment of the national economic structure and the reform of the economic system which are currently being carried out in our country also require the carrying out of a corresponding readjustment and reform in the structure and management system of qualified scientists and technicians. This readjustment and reform involve a wide range of fairly great difficulties. But two separate routes may be taken. From a long-range view, it is necessary to carry out a series of reforms in such things as the scientific and technical education system, the distribution of qualified scientists and technicians, and the management system, including the practice of coordinated distribution and advertisement integrated with this kind of reform measure, to both guarantee the needs for the development of the national plan, and to guarantee the rational flow of qualified personnel and of each one finding his place. From a current view, to guarantee the urgent needs of national economic construction, we can consider adopting certain interim measures. These measures include:

First, from departments and units in which scientific and technical strength is relatively great, transfer a definite number of scientific and technical personnel to strengthen the nation's key construction, technical development and technical reform projects. For example, currently there are a relatively large number of college and university professors, some professors haven't been able

to hold classes for many years, and a number of them could be transferred out to economic construction departments. There are abundant scientific and technical forces in certain military project departments in our country which also may be transferred in suitable force to strengthen national economic construction. In addition, scientific research organizations such as the Chinese Academy of Sciences have amassed a large group of scientific and technical forces and a partial number of them could also be transferred to work in unity with the state.

Second, through concrete work such as working out long-range scientific and technical plans and tackling key scientific and technical problems, scientific and technical forces in all areas will be attracted to work together in co-operation. The subordinate relations of these scientific and technical personnel temporarily will not change, and adopting methods including "temporary transfers," "contract assistance," and "holding two or more posts concurrently," will revive them organizationally, coordinate their utilization, and give full play to their roles.

Third, it is possible that the number of scientific and technical personnel in some departments and units is not large, but the structure is irrational, the middle-aged backbone cadres are overconcentrated, beginning level personnel are too few, and intermediate level personnel are used to perform the roles of beginning level personnel. This also is a waste. Under these conditions the country may assign some college or technical high school graduates to them, replacing a part of the middleaged backbone cadres, and sending them to work in departments with urgent needs.

Fourth, based on the needs of the nation's key construction and technical reform projects, within certain limits there is leadership work to be carried out in coordinated advertising for scientific and technical personnel. All scientific and technical personnel who have genuine talent which is improperly utilized or left unused, as well as inactive qualified scientists and technicians in the society, may answer the call to be examined, be recruited according to their chosen specialties, and be assigned work suited to their abilities. The choice of location of units is generally not obstructed. But attention should be paid to prevent qualified scientists and technicians in the rural areas and border districts from moving against the flow.

Fifth, adopt suitable policies in such aspects as wages, welfare, and housing, and encourage scientific and technical personnel to go to work in the rural areas and border districts. A rotation system may also be stipulated, with some going and some returning. There are altogether over 800,000 specialized graduates of agricultural colleges and training schools in our country, and currently less than half are working in the rural areas. Hence, suitable measures should be adopted to mobilize the majority of them to return to the professions in which they were trained.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANDONG DISCUSSES POLICY ON INTELLECTUALS

SK091057 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 83 p 2

[Article by Wang Yitang [3769 3015 1016] from "Mass Forum" column: "Whether It Is Beginning or Overdoing?"]

[Text] At present, while talking about the implementation of the policy on intellectuals, the people often give the following two completely different appraisals: one is that "implementation has made a good start." The other one is that "implementation has been overdone." Which is correct? As for the question of agreeing with either of the appraisals, we would like to suggest as an answer that it depends on the actual situation in specific localities.

It is undeniable that, since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and particularly in the past 1 or 2 years, leadership at all levels has done a great deal of work and scored certain achievements in implementing the policy on intellectuals. A large number of units that have highly awakened in this policy have scored marked achievements. However, achievements among localities are uneven. Some areas have not totally eliminated the erroneous policy on intellectuals, which has been caused by the "leftist" line over the past many years. A large number of people are still in the serious state in harboring prejudices against intellectuals. Problems concerning the policy on intellectuals have not been dealt with satisfactorily. For instance, there are still problems in which personnel have taken up work for which they have not majored in schools and work that is not in conformity with their expertise. Some personnel still sigh with regret at being unable to make full use of their talents and abilities. Some have been heavily burdened with household expenses. The most intolerable thing is that, up to the present, intellectuals in some areas are frequently and unjustifiably accused, beaten and insulted. We would like to ask: Has the implementation of the policy on intellectuals in these areas been overdone? No, of course it has not. In term of some units, we can only say that it is beginning. It is, of course, for some comrades to uphold their own reasons for criticizing the implementation of the policy on intellectuals being overdone. For example, in their point of view, some comrades deem that if intellectuals were not justifiably treated in the past, it would be good enough now to remove their label of "the stinking ninth category." It is really going too far to regard them as so perfect and even to promote them into leading bodies. If such a point of view is carefully analyzed, it is not hard for us to discern the "leftist" influence remaining

under cover. As for the broad masses of intellectuals, work only to remove the label of "the stinking ninth category" is not enough. Following their rehabilitation, we should also pay attention to "conferring professional titles" among intellectuals so as to enable them to fully play their role in the program of achieving the four modernizations. This means that it is necessary to acknowledge them as a component of the working class and as an indispensable and basic force in the society for advancing the program of realizing the four modernizations. According to their knowledge range and expertise, it is also necessary to make proper arrangements for them so as to enable them to engage in a work suitable to their talent and ability. This is not only the need stemming in the program of achieving the four modernizations, but also the demands raised by the vast number of people. A failure to solve these problems means that the "leftist" influence has not been eliminated, that the narrow-minded prejudice has not been corrected and that the party's policy on intellectuals has not been successfully implemented. Under such a circumstance, how can we say that the implementation of the policy on intellectuals has been overdone?

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### DECISIONS MADE ON NEI MONGGOL INTELLECTUALS' WORK

SK110335 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Excerpts] On 7 March, the Nei Monggol Regional CPC Committee adopted a decision on the work concerning intellectuals. The decision states: strengthening the work concerning intellectuals, implementing the policy towards intellectuals and fully mobilizing the initiative of intellectuals in building the two civilizations are an important strategic task for CPC committees at all levels.

The decision notes: fully understanding the position and role of intellectuals in developing our country's causes of revolution and construction is an ideological basis for strengthening the work concerning intellectuals and for implementing the policy toward intellectuals. Owing to the influence of leftist ideas, however, the sabotage imposed by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and the narrow view of small-scale production left over by history prejudice and discrimination against intellectuals still exist in party and political contingents, thus seriously hampering the implementation of the policy towards intellectuals. CPC committees at all levels should maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee in the work concerning intellectuals, seriously and conscientiously eliminate leftist influences and wage a resolute struggle against all practices that violate the party's policy towards intellectuals.

The decision states: intellectuals should be boldly promoted and employed so as to make the best possible use of them and their abilities. Selecting and promoting excellent young and middle-aged cadres means, in fact, to select and promote the intellectuals who have both ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life. While organizing leading bodies in the course of reforming organs, one-third of a leading body at any level should be staffed with cadres who have received high school or university educations. In large and medium-sized cities, one-half of a leading body should be staffed with such cadres. Leading bodies of professional teaching, scientific research, producing and managerial units should be staffed with still more such cadres. The cadres who have professional skills and hold major leading posts should really have positions, powers and duties. To ensure that leading bodies at all levels are staffed with large numbers of intellectuals, organizational and personnel departments at all levels must be filled with a considerably great number of intellectuals who are intelligent, capable and competent. Meanwhile, one intellectual, at least, should be promoted to leading post.

The decision notes: Ideological education should be strengthened among intellectuals so as to enable them to foster a firm communist world outlook and a communist outlook of life, to guard themselves against the corrosive influence of bourgeois ideas and liberalization and to serve to four modernizations with one heart and one mind.

The decision stresses: It is necessary to strengthen the party leadership over intellectuals. While checking or leading cadres and bodies, they should be checked to see if they have conscientiously solved problems for intellectuals and mobilized the enthusiasm of intellectuals. As for those who resist the implementation of the policy towards intellectuals or perform their duty in a perfunctory manner, their posts should be readjusted if they refuse to mend their ways despite admonition.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### TIANJIN PUBLIC OPINION POLL ON INTELLECTUALS' WORK

SK100920 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Excerpts] The Tianjin Municipal Science Association and Research Institute recently conducted a public opinion poll among 500 scientific and technological personnel by random sample. Among the sample were 10 high-ranking scientific and technological personnel, 287 middle-grade scientific and technical personnel and 203 primary science personnel and science workers who have not yet been given their professional titles. The unmarked questionnaires which they filled out show that, at present, intellectuals have not yet given full rein to their work enthusiasm and their important role in the four modernizations. This has become an urgent matter of the moment.

This public opinion poll shows that 149 persons felt that they can give better play to their enthusiasm and role in the four modernizations drive. This accounts for 29.8 percent of the total number of persons who participated in the public opinion poll. Sixty-three persons, or 12.6 percent, thought that they have no chance to give full rein to their talents and roles and that they cannot do their work well. About 288 persons thought that they can only complete their work tasks in general. In addition, 107 persons, or 21.4 percent, thought that they had not been able to put their learning to good use. Eighty-nine persons, or 17.8 percent, thought that they have not been placed in proper positions.

To give full rein to the enthusiasm and role of intellectuals, first of all, we must further improve our understanding of intellectuals. Through investigations, 218 persons or 43.6 percent, have put forth the idea that at present the problem of discrimination against intellectuals still exists. Second, we must try all possible means to create conditions in which intellectuals can work and study in order to give full rein to their enthusiasm and role. Third, we must help intellectuals solve difficulties in daily life. Through investigations, 358 persons or 71.6 percent, have said that their family burdens are too heavy; 253 persons, or 50.6 percent, have said that they have difficulties in housing. In addition, 54 persons have said that they have difficulties in finding nurseries for their children, and 26 persons have said that their problem of being reunited with their separated spouses has not yet been solved. Twelve old scientific and technological personnel said that they have no children to take care of them.

This public opinion poll has aroused the attention of leaders of the parties concerned.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 'YUNNAN RIBAO' ON POLICY TOWARD INTELLECTUALS

HK090711 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Commentator's article: "It Is Not 'Going too Far'--On Firm Implementation of Policy Toward Intellectuals"]

[Text] The implementation of the policy toward intellectuals has become a popular topic of conversation at present. Many comrades are taking an interest in it and talking about it. This state of affairs itself indicates that the question of intellectuals has begun to attract much attention. The outworn concept that people have for many years been used to underestimating knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals is being gradually eradicated and discarded. However, in the course of coming to a new understanding of this question, it is hard to avoid meeting with all sorts of complaints of which one main argument is that we have "gone too far" in implementing the policy toward intellectuals.

Has the implementation of the policy toward intellectuals "gone too far?" This is in fact a question of how to assess the position and role of the intellectuals in the building of the two civilizations and the present implementation of the policy toward intellectuals in the province. It must be acknowledged that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our province has done a great deal of work in implementing the policy toward intellectuals, redressed large numbers of unjust, false and wrong cases and started solving the problems of intellectuals not being given jobs which utilize their knowledge and of husband and wife living apart as a result of working at a [words indistinct] to a certain extent and their living treatment also considerably improved. The achievements are impressive. To shut our eyes to this state of affairs is wrong. However, this does not mean that we have "gone too far" in implementing the policy toward intellectuals. On the contrary, there is still a significant amount of resistance in this aspect, and much remains to be done.

Some comrades say that at present "too much publicity" has been given to intellectuals and "intellectuals are now being praised to the skies." This argument does not tally with reality. Giving publicity to the historical position and role of intellectuals so that the whole party and the whole people can respect knowledge and intellectuals, and giving play to the important role of intellectuals is in the first place the requirement of building socialism and also the important task of propaganda work. However, for many years we did not pay due attention

to this question of extreme importance but instead adopted "leftist" principles and pursued erroneous policies, and as a result, during the "Great Cultural Revolution," intellectuals were branded the "stinking ninth category," the "bourgeois reactionary authorities" and a "force alien and even hostile" to the workers and peasants. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this historical reversal has been corrected in terms of guiding ideology in general, but the ignorance and backward phenomena of underestimating knowledge and indiscriminating against intellectuals still have a considerable market in our actual work. This is detrimental to the socialist modernization program. Therefore, in dealing with the question of intellectuals, we must build up powerful public opinion to put an end to this existing state of affairs. This is not only the requirement of the situation which has emerged since shifting the focus of work of the CPC to the four modernizations program but also an important move in bringing order out of chaos on our ideological front. As for intellectuals, many of them have worked for many years selflessly without attracting public interest, displaying the lofty spirit of dedicating themselves to proletarian revolution and have made and are making a great deal of remarkable achievements in a situation in which they were subjected to political indiscrimination and had quite great economic difficulties and fairly poor working conditions [words indistinct] Luo Jianfu and Cai Xitao. Their deeds are extremely moving and must be of course spread vigorously [words indistinct] went and it can be said that the work has only just started. How can we say that "too much publicity" has been given to intellectuals? and "intellectuals are being praised to the skies?"

Still other comrades hold that improving the living conditions of intellectuals "can lead to new inequality." This is also groundless. At present, the intellectuals in a considerable number of spheres receive neither bonuses or meager bonuses if any, nor subsidies. According to a survey, their real economic income is generally 10-30 percent less than the income of the workers of the same age. The wages of the graduates from universities, colleges and polytechnic schools are lower than the wage income of the workers who were formerly their classmates during the primary or middle school period. This state of affairs is already not a rare sight. After conducting a survey of the 55 lecturers of some universities in the province, some people found that there were 23 families whose average income was under 25 yuan. In the scientific and educational units at the provincial level which have relatively good conditions, a considerable section of scientific and technical cadres have to live in crowded houses or have no houses to move in after their marriage or three generations among some of them have to live under the same roof. From these fairly incomplete investigated cases, we can see that the living treatment of the intellectuals is relatively poor and particularly the middle-aged intellectuals have marginal economic income, a heavy load on household duties and are quite badly off, and their health is on the decline. Failure to pay attention to putting this state of affairs to an end will not only affect the smooth progress of the socialist modernization program but in fact encourage ignorance and willingness to lag behind. Therefore, the measures which have been adopted at present are entirely correct and extremely necessary. Furthermore, while the people are willing to pay more remuneration to the intellectuals who have made marked achievements in the building of the two civilizations, we must help facilitate its realization rather than being jealous. This is an act of spreading the principle which was long ago implemented among the masses of

workers and peasants among the intellectuals. Even in the future when our country has comparatively rich financial resources and there is a fairly significant improvement in the living treatment of the intellectuals, under our socialist system, there will not possibly emerge the so-called "inequality" but instead there will be only a difference between complicated and simple labor.

Some comrades worry whether the enhancement of the political position of the intellectuals might lead to the denigration of the workers and peasants? Before answering this question, we must first ask: Can a hard and fast line be drawn between workers, peasants and intellectuals? Do workers, peasants and intellectuals sharply contrast with each other? In his report to the 12th CPC Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly declared that like workers and peasants, intellectuals are a force we must rely on in building socialism; workers, peasants and intellectuals are three basic social forces in our country. Intellectuals themselves are part of the working class. On what ground should we base ourselves for separating them from and setting them against the working class? At the Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC, a peasant representative put it nicely: "Intellectuals are like our PLA" and "our own army wielding the pen." Such a metaphor is utterly appropriate. It is entirely impossible to build a high level of material and spiritual civilization without the unity and mutual help of these three forces. It is entirely reasonable to turn intellectuals from the past state of being the targets of "remoulding" and even the objects of "dictatorship" into a force which should be relied on and to raise them from the past position of being the "stinking ninth category" to a position equal to that of the workers and peasants. There is not, in the slightest degree, the question of denigrating the workers and peasants in this respect. The reason why these comrades have such worries lies in the fact that they still in essence regard intellectuals as the petit bourgeoisie and even the bourgeoisie and intellectuals as only, as they see it, "be united, educated and remoulded." This view is utterly wrong.

It has never been seen since the founding of the PRC to implement the policy toward intellectuals in such as overall and thorough manner as we are carrying it out now. It is only natural that such implementation of the policy toward intellectuals evoked strong percussions among some cadres and the masses and there were various opinions and views on it among them. What counts is that our leading comrades at all levels must keep to the stand of the party's policies, persist in doing thoroughgoing and meticulous propaganda and education work and expound the great significance of attaching importance to knowledge and intellectuals in terms of the integration of theory and practice, steadily clear away all kinds of ideological obstacles and wage necessary struggle against all sorts of ignorant and backward phenomena of underestimating scientific and cultural knowledge and discriminating against intellectuals, so as to form a great mass fervor for the whole nation to march forward science and culture. Intellectuals must also adopt a correct attitude toward themselves, not lose sight of their own shortcomings, strive to improve their professional skill, earnestly remould their world outlook and at the same time make adequate allowance for the state's difficulties. Only when the tasks in these fields are fulfilled well, can the workers, peasants and intellectuals intimately work together and can we have the reliable guarantee of the realization of our magnificent objective.

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YUNNAN RIBAO' URGES RESPECT FOR INTELLECTUALS

HK151009 Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 83 p 2

[ "Random Talk on the Question of Intellectuals" column by Gong Sang [1362 2718]:  
"By No Means an 'Expedient'" ]

[Text] Some people say: it is but an expedient now to call for attaching importance to knowledge and intellectuals.

What is an "expedient"? According to the explanation in the dictionary, an "expedient": means a "temporary measure" to meet an emergency. Is attaching importance to knowledge and intellectuals a temporary measure? Of course not. Then, why do some comrades still say so?

One reason is that these comrades are used to the wrong idea of neglecting education, science and culture and discrimination against intellectuals. They used to treat intellectuals as a force beyond workers and peasants which is only to be united with and should not be relied upon. What is more serious is that some even go so far as to treat intellectuals as the "stinking ninth category" and an alien force. It is due to this deep-rooted practice that these comrades, even when the CPC Central Committee is bringing order out of chaos and pointing out that intellectuals are only a part of the working class and a force we must rely on in the construction for four modernizations and that it is extremely important to bring into full play the role of intellectuals, still fail to have a correct understanding in their ideology and feeling. Hence, they treat the party's policy as an "expedient."

Connected with the above situation is the fact that some comrades still lack a correct understanding of the role and position of knowledge and intellectuals in revolution and construction. They hold that the success of revolution was achieved by the barrels of guns and think nothing of whether revolution can achieve success without the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by advanced intellectuals. While carrying out construction and building the four modernizations, the party puts forward that we must attach great importance to bringing into full play the role of intellectuals. Again, they hold that it is "workers and peasants who fought to win state power but intellectuals who rule

the country." These comrades must consider that without relying on the progress of science and technology and without intellectuals disseminating and promoting science and technology, creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization is but empty verbiage. "Without advanced science and technology, there will be no four modernizations." This is absolutely not [words indistinct], but a truth repeatedly borne out by facts.

The great contribution of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is that the party has fulfilled the task of bringing order out of chaos in its guiding thought. But this does not mean that all areas, all departments, all units and all individuals have brought order out of chaos in their ideology. According to the present situation, how to treat the party's instructions of attaching importance to knowledge and intellectuals is a test to every one. All comrades, particularly those party cadres who assume leading posts, must not be vague and ambiguous on this matter. Otherwise, it will affect the work adversely and inflict unnecessary losses to the party and people.

An "expedient" is really not an apt word. Comrades, please think it over again and again.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MAO ZHIYONG LETTER ON INTELLECTUALS

HK120434 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Mar 83 p 3

[Report by Wu Xinhua [0702 5281 5478]: "Mao Zhiyong Writes to Conference of Secretaries of Party Committee of Schools of Higher Learning, Convened by Hunan Provincial CPC Committee: We Cannot Remain Indifferent to Violation of Party Policies"]

[Text] [Abstract] He believes: Hunan Province has not yet thoroughly eliminated the "leftist" influence in implementing the policy of intellectuals. Many cadres lack a correct understanding. This is a prime issue determining whether we can reach political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee. It is high time that we thoroughly resolve this problem. Where the policy on intellectuals has not yet been implemented, we must seriously carry it out. We must resolutely get rid of all "reservations" and resolve all remaining problems in carrying out the policy. We must criticize and educate those who refuse to carry it out and seriously deal with those who adhere to their mistakes. [end abstract] [paragraph published in boldface]

The Hunan Provincial CPC Committee on 9 and 10 March held a provincial conference of secretaries of the CPC committees of schools of higher learning administered by the provincial authorities to discuss how to continuously eliminate the "leftist" ideological influence in the province and further carry out the party's policy on intellectuals.

After the exposure of the serious problems in implementing the policy on intellectuals in the Hunan provincial diesel automobile repairing and manufacturing factory and Hunan University, the Hunan CPC Committee held that there still exists many and very serious problems in Hunan in implementing the policy on intellectuals. In view of this, the provincial CPC committee decided to hold a provincial conference on CPC committee secretaries of schools of higher learning administered by the provincial authorities. Mao Zhiyong, first secretary of the provincial CPC committee, was in other places on official business. Before his departure, he wrote a letter on 6 March to the Standing Committee members of the provincial CPC committee and put forward three suggestions: 1) although we have raised our understanding on the problem of knowledge and intellectuals, we must also see

that the serious influence of the protracted "leftist" mistakes has not yet been eliminated in ideological understanding, social public opinion or in various political, economic and organizational measures. Cadres, leading cadres at all levels in particular, still lack a clear understanding a sense of urgency on this problem. The tendency to neglect knowledge and discriminate against intellectuals has not yet been overcome among quite a few comrades. It is now high time to resolutely and thoroughly resolve this problem. If we remain indifferent to or even passively reject resolving this problem it will become not just an ordinary problem, but a problem concerning our attitude toward the party's line, guiding principle, policies and resolutions, and a problem of whether we can reach political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee. 2) We must continue to further conduct education for all cadres and people throughout the province in the party's policy on intellectuals, and make public to the vast number of cadres and masses that mental laborers receiving better rewards than manual laborers in socialist society would greatly benefit the development of production and help raise the level of material and spiritual life of the people. 3) All units must organize cadres to earnestly study a series of instructions of the party's Central Committee on implementing the [word indistinct] intellectuals, unify their thinking, get rid of disturbance of factionalism and realistically and completely check the situation in implementing the policy on intellectuals. Where the policy on intellectuals has not yet been implemented, we must earnestly carry it out. We must resolutely get rid of all "reservations" and resolve all remaining problems in carrying out the policy. We must criticize and educate those who refuse to carry it out, and seriously deal with those who adhere to their mistakes. As for those areas and units where there has been slow progress in carrying out the policy on intellectuals and many problems remain, we must supervise them to grasp the work and dispatch people to give them concrete assistance.

All participating CPC committee secretaries have discovered where they lag behind in their understanding and work. They said that after returning to their schools they would take the initiative to eliminate the "leftist" ideological influence, remove all obstacles and completely implement the party's policy on intellectuals.

CSO: 4005/652

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUNAN UNIVERSITY REACTS TO CRITICISM IN PAPERS

HK171310 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 15 Mar 83

[Summary] On the afternoon of 14 March, at the rally of the cadres and the teachers of the university, the Hunan University CPC Committee announced several decisions on the criticisms contained in RENMIN RIBAO and GUANGMING RIBAO.

On 16 June last year, GUANGMING RIBAO carried a letter from three teachers of the university which disclosed that without taking part in writing, (Gong Xianzhang), director of the radio teaching staff room, insisted on the inclusion of his name in the book, "The Principle and Design of Transistor Receiver Circuits," compiled by associate professor (Jin Zhongqi). After repeated investigation, the Hunan University CPC Committee announced yesterday:

"The book, which developed from teaching materials to completion in book form, was compiled by Comrade (Jin Zhongqi). Comrade (Gong Xianzhang) only put forward some views on revision, drew some diagrams and provided reference materials. If another edition of the book is published, it must be regarded as being compiled by (Jin Zhongqi).

On 24 February this year, RENMIN RIBAO carried a letter of criticism, which pointed out that the Hunan University had not thoroughly reversed verdicts on persecuted teachers and cadres. The letter stated that during the cultural revolution, (Yao Shouzhi), associate professor of the Department of Chemical Engineering, was sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment on a fabricated charge. After investigation, the university CPC committee announced yesterday: "From 1962 to 1964 in the form of a talk with (Yao), the former party branch of the Department of Chemical Engineering asked (Yao) to talk about his views on the struggle against revisionism then waged. In front of the organization, (Yao) talked about his idea. This was normal and permitted. However, the former party branch of the Department of Chemical Engineering arranged the contents of (Yao's) talk into a series of data and criticized and struggled against him among the workers of the university. This way was incorrect. Verdicts on him must now be thoroughly revised."

In the same letter, it was mentioned that a female teacher in the Department of Mechanical Engineering joined a so-called sisters' group when she was studying in a junior middle school around the period of liberation. Subsequently, because of this, she was brought to trial. Yesterday, the university CPC committee announced: "This teacher was only 14 years old at that time. She

joined a literary and artistic propaganda team organized by the school student union and was not a member of the so-called secret service nor a member of the eight sisters. She has a clean record."

The decisions which the university CPC committee announced also pointed out: "After the preliminary investigation conducted by a judicial department, (Shi Yiyuan), teacher, who was executed on 4 June 1977, was mistakenly executed. In accordance with the party's policy, his children must be comforted and compensated."

CSO: 4005/652

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'NANFANG RIBAO' ARTICLE COMMEMORATES MARX, MAO

HK100905 Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by Yang Yingbin [2799 2019 1755]: "Struggle All Life Long for the Communist Cause--Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Death of Marx and the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of Comrade Mao Zedong"]

[Text] This year is the 165th anniversary of the birth of Marx and the 100th anniversary of his death, the 135th anniversary of the publication of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, and the 90th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Mao Zedong, great leader of our Chinese people. Under the new situation, it is of far-reaching significance that we commemorate Marx and Comrade Mao Zedong.

History is created by the masses. Great leaders of the people also play an immortal role when they work together with the people in the struggle to create history. Leaders are the most advanced of people. They place themselves in the midst of the people's struggles. They explore and discover the laws governing social development and establish revolutionary theory which is used to guide the people's revolutionary struggle and to promote the advance of human society.

More than 100 years ago, young Marx and Engels created the theory of communism. Over the past century and more, the development of the international communist movement has deeply changed human society and has broadened the prospects for historical development. More than 60 years ago, communist ideology was spread into China. Chinese Communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong applied it to the practice of the Chinese revolution and formed Mao Zedong Thought which guided the Chinese revolution to a great victory. This historical fact shows us two important points:

1. Communist ideology has great power.
2. The universal truth of Marxism must be linked to concrete practice in all countries.

Over the past century and more, all victories for the international communist movement, in the final analysis, have been won by communists in various countries through their concrete practice which is guided by communist ideology. The great power of the communist ideology precisely lies in its truth and

practicality. When we commemorate Marx and Comrade Mao Zedong and commemorate the publication of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, the most important thing is to consolidate our faith in the truth of communism and place ourselves in the practice of life-long struggle for the communist cause.

The great power of communist ideology first lies in its truth. Communism is not a fantasy, it is science. It is a correct conclusion drawn through scientific analysis of human society development according to dialectic materialism and historical materialism. It reflects the objective laws governing historical development. More than 100 years ago, Marx and Engels discovered this truth. In the Manifesto of the Communist Party, they openly declared that the capitalist system will eventually be replaced by the communist system. As Engels later said, "Few voices responded" in the early days. But through practice over one century and more, the communist movement has won splendid victory. Although there still exist many difficulties and twists and turns on the way ahead and the movement may even suffer serious setbacks in some countries and in some periods, the communists system will eventually replace the capitalist system. This is an irrefutable truth. Under no circumstances will genuine revolutionaries lose their faith in communism, because they firmly believe that communism is a truth. They firmly believe that the cause they are engaged in is a just cause and they are bent on going through fire and water and even risking their lives for the realization of this grand cause. Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and many other proletarian revolutionaries in the history of the communist movement have set splendid examples for us through their great practice. Learning from these splendid examples and consolidating our faith in communism is of particular importance for the CPC members who have experienced the 10 years of domestic turmoil.

The great power of communist ideology also lies in its practicality. At first, the Manifesto of the Communist Party was a program drawn up by Marx and Engels for the "Communist Alliance." The international communist movement was developed under the guidance of this program. Over the past century and more, the Manifesto has become a great program for the international communist movement. It has successfully guided communists in various countries in their struggles. The ideological system of communism has also been enriched and developed in the course of struggle. According to communist ideology, the final objective of the communist party is to realize a communist social system. The programs and policies of the Communist Party are a scientific embodiment of the fundamental interests of the working class and the masses. Therefore, the party can change its correct ideas into the conscious actions of the masses, can unite and lead the proletariat and the masses to launch struggles, and can mobilize and organize huge revolutionary ranks to win victories. If a theory cannot be used to guide the masses to win victories in their revolutionary campaigns, it will not be a truth. Communist ideology is a truth, because it is a guideline for revolutionary practice.

The practicality of communist ideology is also reflected in the combination between its universal truth and the concrete revolutionary practice in various countries. Combining the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete revolutionary practice in their own country is a fundamental way for the communist party to win a victory in the revolution. The Russian Communists represented

by Lenin combined the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the Russian revolution and they formed Leninism which guided the Russian revolution to a great victory. The Chinese Communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong also achieved great victories in the same way. These are all splendid examples. They are typical cases of how to apply the Marxist world outlook to practice, how to seek truth from facts, how to link theory with practice, and how to test truth through practice.

The past century and more since the birth of Marxism has been a period when Marxism has been continuously enriched and developed in both theory and practice and a period when the international communist movement has become stronger and stronger and achieved a series of victories. Marxism is a guide to action rather than a dogma. It does not put an end to truth; rather, it just opens up the way to continuously acquire the knowledge of truth through practice. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and particularly since the 12th CPC National Congress, our party's central leadership has adhered to and developed Mao Zedong Thought under the new historical conditions and has realized a great historical change and won a great historical victory. In the new historical period, the party central leadership has put forth a series of new principles and policies which are directed at the new conditions and are designed to solve various new problems. It has also put forth new tasks before the party. This is also a splendid example for us. So long as we carry out the correct line and the series of principles and policies drawn up the party central leadership, we are struggling for the far-reaching target of communism in a down-to-earth manner. We must deeply understand the relationship between these two sides by linking theory with practice so as to overcome blindness, enhance consciousness, and forge ahead vigorously.

In May 1890, while facing the situation in which workers' movements were developing vigorously, Engels, who was then 70, wrote excitedly and vehemently in the preface to the fourth German edition of the "Communist Manifesto": "If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes!"

Yes! If only Marx and Engels still lived in the 1980s and saw the surging communist movement in which the Marxist principles they created have been combined with concrete practice in various countries: If only Comrade Mao Zedong today could see how the party central leadership adheres to and develops Mao Zedong Thought and lead the whole party and the whole nation in the struggle for creating a new situation in socialist modernization!

Communism will certainly win its final victory!

Members of the Communist Party must struggle throughout their lives for the communist cause!

SD: 4001 532

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HUBEI RADIO MARKS CENTENARY OF MARX' DEATH

HK150709 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Mar 83

[Station commentary: "Hold High the Banner of Marxism, Build Socialism With Chinese Characteristics"]

[Summary] Today is the 100th anniversary of Marx' death. Marxism is a complete scientific and theoretical system and a most powerful ideological weapon for the proletarian liberation movement. In the past century, under the guidance of Marxism, the communist movement has been advancing. Socialism, as the initial stage of communism, has been established in a number of countries. Many Asian, African and Latin American countries have freed themselves from colonial domination and won independence. All this shows that Marxism is an invincible banner and not outdated, but constantly being enriched and developed in practice.

Today when we commemorate Marx, we must continue to hold high the banner of Marxism, study and practice Marxism and build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

By saying that Marxism is an invincible banner, we do not mean that it can be regarded as a dogma and mechanically copy it irrespective of objective conditions. Lenin once said: Marxism has offered us with a general guiding principle. The application of this principle, however, differs in different countries and places. Only by combining the general principle of Marxism with the concrete conditions of one's own country, can the Communist Party of the country win victories in revolution and construction. The victories of the October Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and of China's revolution under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong were all achieved in this way.

"Although we suffered setbacks and failures in the period of building socialism, our party correctly summed up historical experience, adhered to the Marxist principle of combining theory with practice and finally defined that we should take the road of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The conclusion drawn by summing up our historical experience is to combine the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of our country and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. This is the fundamental guiding ideology for the entire building of modernization and it has illuminated the direction for us to build socialism. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has formulated a series of concrete policies and measures. This is the result of our party adhering to the principle of combining Marxism with the conditions of China.

"The 12th CPC Congress has laid down the program, principle and policies for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, and put forward the general tasks for the new historical period. At present, we must carry out all-round reform in a systematic and orderly way, and build socialism with China's characteristic, so that our country will prosper and the people will be rich and happy. This is the fundamental task at the present stage. Provided we hold high the banner of Marxism and earnestly implement the program, line, principle and policies of the 12th CPC Congress, we will definitely be able to accomplish this task."

CSO: 4005/652

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HENAN MEETING MARKS ANNIVERSARY OF MARX' DEATH

HK141506 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Mar 83

[Summary] The Henan provincial academic report meeting to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx opened in Zhengzhou today. This meeting is being jointly held by the propaganda department and the party school of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial education department, the provincial Institute of Social Sciences and the provincial federation of social sciences. Attending are professors, scholars and professional workers of institutes of higher education, party schools and all associations of the federations of social sciences in the province who are engaged in the study of Marxist theory and theoretical education and relevant comrades of the propaganda departments and party schools of prefectural and city CPC committees, totaling some 150 people. The meeting received some 100 academic theses.

Leading comrades of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial people's congress Standing Committee and the provincial government, including (Liu Zhengwei He Zhukang, (Hou Zhiying), Han Yingcao and Shao Wenjie, and responsible persons of relevant departments are attending the meeting. (Hu Yong), deputy director of the propaganda department of the provincial CPC committee, is presiding over the meeting.

(Hou Zhiying), member of the provincial CPC committee Standing Committee, delivered the opening speech. He said: "While reviewing the history of the victorious development of Marxism over the past 100 years, we study the issue of how to build socialism with Chinese characteristics under the guidance of the basic principle of Marxism. This is very significant."

He said: "The CPC Central Committee and Comrade Deng Xiaoping have put forward that it is necessary to take our own road. This is a basic principle of Marxism as well as the central subject under discussion in this meeting." He went on to say: "All victories which we have won are the victories of Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought and Marxism linked with the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. By way of commemorating him, our social workers must adhere to and develop Marxism and use Marxism to direct us to study and solve the new problems in the course of socialist modernization in our country and to push the proletarian revolutionary cause forward."

(Hou Zhiying) emphatically said: "With a view to building socialism with Chinese characteristics, a key problem is to conduct all-round and systematic reform in politics, economics, culture and social life." He pointed out: "Over the past few years, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has consistently said that to embark on the four modernizations, it is essential to conduct a series of reforms. Without reform, it is impossible to achieve the four modernizations. Our social science workers must fully understand this problem, which has a bearing on the success and failure of the overall situation. They must also understand the urgency of this problem. They must wholeheartedly plunge into reform work, give full play to their wisdom and ability and contribute toward building socialism with Chinese characteristics."

The meeting will last 4 days. Theses will be read in the last 3 days of the meeting.

CSO: 4005/652

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGZHOU RIBAO' HAILS CITY CPPCC MEETING

HK180921 Guangzhou GUANGZHOU RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 83 p 1

[Editorial: "To Open a New Situation in the Work of the CPPCC in Accordance With the Spirit of Reforms--Congratulations on the Successful Opening of the Third Session of the Fifth CPPCC"]

[Text] The Third Plenary Session of the Fifth Guangzhou City CPPCC Commission opened successfully today. Those attending will deeply study the constitution of the CPPCC, listen to and deliberate the work report given by the Standing Committee and study the way to create a new situation in the CPPCC's work. They will also attend the Seventh Guangzhou City People's Congress as observers, listen and discuss the city government's work report and other reports, and give their opinions on the important matters concerning the construction of this city. We warmly greet the opening of this grand meeting and wish the meeting complete success.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Our patriotic united front has a far-reaching, bright future, and can play an important role. The 12th Party Congress also made an appeal for devoting all efforts to the consolidation and strengthening of the broadest patriotic united front which consists of all socialist laborers, patriots who support socialism and the reunification of the motherland, including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots. The new constitution stipulates: "The CPPCC is a broadly representative organization of the united front, which has played a significant historical role and will continue to do so in the political and social life of the country, in promoting friendship with the people of other countries and in the struggle for socialist modernization and for the reunification and unity of the country." That is the first time that the character, position and role of the CPPCC have been stipulated in a constitution. It indicates that our socialist democracy has further developed. The spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the stipulations in the new constitution have important guiding significance and far-reaching influence with regard to the CPPCC's work.

The 5th Session of the 5th National CPPCC Commission, which was held in December last year, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and the new constitution, summed up experiences and lessons in the CPPCC's work since the founding of the PRC, eliminated the influence of "leftist" ideology, and formulated a new CPPCC constitution, which is a correct program for the

CPPCC to create a new situation in its work in the new historical period. Over the past year, the Guangzhou city CPPCC has done a great deal of useful jobs and has achieved new development. At present, the people throughout the city are bravely struggling for success in the reform and the creation of a new situation in socialist construction with full confidence and high spirits. The city CPPCC should also keep pace with this developing situation with the spirit of reform. It should bring its role as an organ for political consultation and democratic supervision into full play in accordance with its new constitution. It should organize its members to make visits, inspections, investigations and studies so as to put forward proposals and critical opinions on the modernization construction in our city. The CPPCC is an important bridge and link between the party and people's government on one side and various democratic parties, people's organizations, non-party democratic personages and patriotic personages in all circles. It symbolizes that our socialist democracy has a broad mass foundation. It is hoped that party committees and governmental departments at all levels in our city will take the proposals and critical opinions raised by the CPPCC seriously so as to improve their work, enhance their work efficiency, overcome bureaucracy and achieve better work results.

There are at present many favorable conditions for the city CPPCC to create a new situation. It is hoped that the current meeting will fully display the democratic spirit, encourage the free airing of views, pool the wisdom and efforts of every member, and raise more positive opinions and ideas, so as to achieve better results in CPPCC work. The CPPCC should do extensive work concerning the united front, unite all forces which are able to be united and mobilize all positive factors. We must adhere to the principles of "coexisting for a long time, mutually supervising, showing utter devotion to each other, and sharing honor and disgrace," strengthen our relations and unity with all democratic parties, people's organizations, non-party democratic personages, patriotic personages in all circles, including Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots and overseas Chinese, and encourage them to make contributions to the motherland's construction and reunification. It is necessary to energetically publicize and implement all policies relating to united front work. In particular we must show constant concern for the conditions and problems of intellectuals and make great efforts to urge all quarters concerned to implement the intellectual policies so as to give an important role of the intellectuals in the four modernizations.

We believe that under the excellent political and economic situations and facing the glorious tasks, all CPPCC members, all democratic parties, people's organizations and personages in all circles will more closely unite and join their efforts together. Under the leadership of the Guangzhou City CPC Committee, they will carry forward their merits, overcome their shortcomings, effectively implement the new CPPCC constitution, work tirelessly to strengthen and consolidate the patriotic united front and make their due contributions to the creation of a new situation in our city's socialist construction.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'YANGCHENG WANBAO' DISCUSSES 'ONE-SIDEDNESS'

HK100538 Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 83 p 2

[Article by Mu Hui [3668 1920]: "A Debate About the Moon"]

[Text] It appears that something we had already forgotten actually still exists in our innermost minds. It will come out just as pictures are clearly shown on TV screens as soon as electricity is connected. Today I read a speech made by Comrade Chen Yun in 1962 on how to get a more overall understanding. Some of the words in the speech go like this: The viewing of a problem by a single person may give rise to onesidedness, but it will be more complete if we exchange our observations with each other. Reading these words, I recalled something in the past.

It happened in about 1956, when people were being urged to put forward their suggestions for carrying out rectification movement. Being cowardly and fearing that their views might be one-sided, some comrades dared not raise suggestions freely. In view of this idea, Comrade Du Guoyang raised at a meeting the idea that people must not be afraid of making mistakes of one-sidedness. Nor should they indiscriminately negate all ideas of one-sidedness. While talking about the popular drama "Searching the College" performed not long ago, he mentioned the words which Xie Bao, a teacher of the college, sang when making first appearance on the stage: "The Whole Bright Moon Illuminates Hai Nan." His old servant, Lin Bo, immediately butted him, saying: "Have you drunk too much, teacher? How can you say 'the whole bright moon illuminated Hai Nan' as there is only a half moon shortly after the Chongyang festival?" Humorously, Xie Bao replied: What you see is half a moon and what I see is also half a moon. If we join them together then we get a whole moon. Our revered Comrade Du said that two or even more one-sided ideas can be joined together to form a complete idea. He also referred to the inevitability nature of one-sidedness. Also taking the moon as an example, he said that the whole moon people see is, as a matter of fact, half a moon for the other half is behind the earth which people cannot see.

This is, of course, a very vivid metaphor full of philosophy. It is true that one may make hundreds or even thousands of mistakes of one-sidedness in one's whole life. However, later developments, as everyone knows, meant that the consequences of the discussion on "one-sidedness" were not so good; even a most respectable scholar such as our revered Comrade Du and his idea that

"one-sidedness plus another one-sidedness can form a complete idea" were criticized "thoroughly." The grounds of argument were that one-sidedness was wrong and reactionary, having not the slightest truth. The view that one-sidedness plus another one-sidedness form a complete idea is tantamount to the idea that one mistake plus another mistake can form a truth. To those who criticized our revered Comrade Du's view, this, of course, paved the way for the appearance of mistakes or even anti-socialist and anti-party fallacies. Other views were more radical. In order to prove that one-sidedness was reactionary and not a necessary process in the understanding of truth by people, some people categorically said: It is against common sense to say that people can only see half a moon. The earth is revolving and so is the moon. So people can see the whole moon, and so on.

The criticism of our revered Comrade Du was carried out secretly. He, of course, knew nothing about it and was in no position to refute it. As a matter of fact, even our revered Comrade Du dared not refute it at that time. Therefore, it appeared that one-sidedness plus another one-sidedness was still a one-sided view and what people see is the whole moon.

No theory is more effective than this in eliminating all ideas, correct or wrong, complete or partial. For no matter how correct a person's view is, it is not difficult to find 5 percent of one-sidedness in it, except for the absolute truth of the actual date of Napoleon's death. Since it is not complete it is one-sided, wrong or even reactionary. According to such a deduction, it is difficult for one to pass a test if one refuses to examine one's mistakes. There are, of course, quite a few Marxists, like our revered Comrade Du, who always believe that even one-sided views are beneficial to making our ideas more complete and closer to truth and who correctly deal with various ideas. Our revered Comrade Du was one of this kind. Comrade Sun Yefang who passed away not long ago was also a person of this kind. According to one report, after Comrade Sun Yefang published an article on decision-making power of enterprises, some people approved it while others opposed it. One youth contended that poor economic results at that time lay not in the lack of decision-making power of enterprises, but in the relationship between cadres and masses. "Cadres in grassroots units are ruthless officials who suppress ordinary people to a serious extent and have too much power." "If their power is further expanded, ordinary people will find it difficult to carry on." It is more than one-sided to consider cadres as "ruthless officials." He would feel it hard to bear if his remarks were raised to the higher plane. But Comrade Sun Yefang found a rational element in the youth's extremely partial remarks: "It is wrong that the youth tried enlarging decision [phrase indistinct]. But it also implies that economic democratization must be assured by political democratization. After expanding their power, enterprises must legislate to guarantee the democratic rights of the masses and eliminate the abuse of power by cadres." Therefore, Comrade Sun Yefang's idea became more perfect and complete. There was nothing wrong with it and nothing that we should fear. The pity is that this idea was not approved and was once branded as "right deviation." And those ideas branded as one-sided but actually not one-sided were treated unfairly. One of the reasons why some really partial ideas and practice could have their way in 1958 and the following years is that various opposing ideas were branded as "one-sided" and rejected. The speech delivered by Comrade Chen Yun in 1962 may well be considered a summation of that painful experience.

Evidently it is not easy to ask people to accept such ideas which call for more overall understanding. Usually people ask others to allow their own one's one-sidedness but refuse to allow others' one-sidedness. After 1962, such ideas and practice which treated "one-sidedness" as heterodoxy were still in force and became more and more prevalent. The consequences were the losses and mistakes of the 10-odd years. That is also why we deeply felt the practical significance of Comrade Chen Yun's remarks. We absolutely must have such generosity to accommodate "one-sidedness," even if the people who make criticism are inferior to us or in a "unfavorable" position.

Truth is objective existence. Until satellites were launched to revolve around the moon, all people could see was half of the moon. "Revolutionary" and "proud words" absolutely cannot change this objective fact. If one insists that what one sees is a whole moon, it is none other than oneself that is really one-sided in the end.

Hence, I recall and record this history of a debate about the moon.

CSO: 4005/652

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'XINJIANG RADIO' COMMENTARY ON GOOD SOCIAL ORDER

HK080643 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 7 Mar 83

[Station commentary: "The Establishment of Good Order"]

[Summary] The establishment of good order--good social order, work order, production order, public traffic order, and so forth--is one of the important guarantees for our modernization effort.

"Recently, thanks to efforts by party committees at all levels and people of all nationalities throughout the region, there has been a marked turn for the better in social order and public traffic order in various areas. Work order and production order have also begun to be gradually restored and established. The sense of organization and discipline on the part of cadres and workers has been considerably strengthened. This year, we must score still greater achievements in establishing good order than last year. In establishing good order, the important thing is to establish good social order. To properly take care of comprehensive order, party committees at all levels must continuously strengthen leadership and give full play to the role of political and legal affairs departments. Meanwhile, they must organize forces in various fields and set the masses of people in motion. Various departments must clearly define job duties and universally introduce the safety protection responsibility system and the on-the-job safety responsibility system, so that everyone can perform his proper duties. They must take energetic and effective measures in regard to political economy, thinking, culture and management."

Strengthening education for youths and adolescents is the key to comprehensive order. The whole society must show concern for the healthy growth of youths and adolescents. To strengthen ideological and political work, we must give cadres, the masses, and youths and adolescents in particular, lectures on communist ideals, convictions and morals, and education in the nationalities policy and national unity. We must cite the advanced with great fanfare. We must further improve the clearly effective rules formulated at various levels and various civilization pacts, establishment of rural rules and practices, and pacts for national unity, and persistently upon them, so that they may become the norms followed by everyone. Thus, there will form a healthy social trend. This will assure the smooth progress of the modernization effort."

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### QINGHAI LEADERS CONDUCT CIVILITY MONTH ACTIVITIES

HK041135 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Mar 83

[Text] On the afternoon of 2 March, responsible comrades of the province and the city went to clean streets and took part in the second Civility and Courtesy Month drive with practical actions.

As soon as they went to their offices in the afternoon, Zhao Haifeng and Ma Wanli, provincial CPC committee secretaries; (Fanjiecairang) and (Liu Feng), deputy secretaries; and responsible comrades of all departments and committees of the provincial CPC committee carried shovels on their shoulders, held baskets and other tools in their hands and left the courtyard of the provincial CPC committee. They cleaned the street in front of the door. Yesterday, all cadres of the organs of the provincial CPC committee also took part in labor by cleaning streets.

In the course of taking part in labor, provincial CPC Committee Secretary Zhao Haifeng told reporters that it is necessary to unfold the civility and courtesy drive for a certain period of time every year. It is essential to whip up public opinion. Moreover, we must persist in building spiritual civilization in order to do it better and better year after year and to basically improve the general mood of society.

Comrade Ma Wanli said that the organs of the provincial CPC committee must take the lead in participating in the All-People Civility and Courtesy Month drive. All departments and committees must closely operate with each other and do well in grasping the Civility and Courtesy Month drive.

All comrades attending the enlarged meeting of the Xining City CPC Committee Standing Committee yesterday went to clean the small park outside the West Gate. Responsible persons of the city CPC committee and the city government including (Qiang Jianhua) and An Guimin, worked together with them. It took them only about an hour to clear the small park.

(SO: 4005/652

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### WAYS TO IMPROVE WRITING PROFESSION PROPOSED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Wang Meng [3769 5536]: "Some Thoughts on Reforming The System of Organization for Professional Writers"]

[Text] Editor's note: During a professional writers symposium organized by the Beijing Municipal Federation of Literature and Arts [Wen Lian-- assumed to be short for Wenyi Lianhehui], Comrade Wang Meng spoke in depth on this thinking on the livelihood problem of professional writers. Relating to some conditions abroad and in our country in the 1930's, he also discussed current problems in our country's system of organization for professional writers. We invited Comrade Wang Meng to write this article with the hope of attracting people's attention and for use as a reference when studying this problem.

Our socialist state is extremely concerned with literary development and has provided unprecedented favorable conditions for those who have the ability for literary creativity. One of the measures is the establishment of the professional writer post by writer organizations at various locations-- some referring to them as "resident writers." Based on their specialization, these writers receive wages according to their former classification but are relieved from their original work or production tasks. They have ample time for writing and studying, for their daily life, as well as for travel and visits. Of course, not everyone who wants to be a professional writer can become one. An important condition is having written and published a specific number of good or fairly good literary works. Thus, in our country, the specialization of writers has achieved a certain standard of accomplishment and professional writers are respected and admired by others.

This arrangement for specialized writers make it possible for many comrades with talent, life experiences, and definite literary training and writing experiences not to worry about food to eat and time and, thus, to engage in writing peacefully and to climb the peaks of literature and arts with concentration and determination. It is an effective guarantee for the production of literary works, especially good ones. And it is a clear contrast with conditions in the capitalist countries where the livelihood

of writers has no guarantee but is controlled by business pressures of publishers and the publications market and where, for the sake of keeping the body and soul together, they have no choice but to engage in work they do not like or write so-called "popular literature" of low morals contrary to their beliefs.

After the crushing of the counterrevolutionary group of Jiang Qing, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, including many of my personal frustrations, the comrades who were deprived of the pens in their hands for a long time have entered the army of specialized writers. They treasure highly the favorable working conditions for professional writers and protect them with special care. This is entirely understandable.

On the prerequisite of fully affirming the necessity for the concern that a socialist country shows for its writers and for the creation of professional writers, we cannot fail to notice the flaws or even abuse which are beginning to show in the current system of organization for professional writers.

(1) The primary one is that it is easy for professional writers to get away from the realities of living and work and from the masses. Surely, the volume of work of some comrades has increased after they became specialized, but the quality has not improved but has actually deteriorated. Although the individual reasons are many, being divorced from the realities of life is often an important one. Despite the fact that the call to pay attention to life realities has become stronger and stronger--and there are definitely some professional writers who have done well and made a very good record in this area--there is often a distance or even a barrier between the ways of life of the professional writers and the realities of life, especially in their psychological attitude. Even when they have gone down to the masses, they are still not very harmonious with the actual work of the cadre masses. This psychological barrier could create a relationship between the writers and the realities of life and the masses that is not one between fish and water but one of oil and water. Some writers may even become undisciplined and lax and consider themselves to be above politics and material considerations. Of course, this is mainly due to the subjectivity of the writers and it is also not to say that the way of life of the writers and the working conditions cannot have their own characteristics. It is correct that we cannot overlook these factors. However, it is also correct that there is a possible need for study and improvement in the system of organization.

(2) Because of the above-mentioned reasons, the sphere of life, sphere of knowledge, and adaptability of working ability of some professional writers have become more and more narrow. On one hand, it is necessary to have the large amount of work done by persons with definite literary training and writing experience, such as organization and administration, editing and publishing, and teaching guidance, which no one likes to do. On the other hand, some professional writers consider these types of work or all social activities and social duties as extracurricula burdens. Some comrades with

long periods of specialization cannot even do such general literary or administrative work as proof: reading, making prints [hua banyang], running meetings, lecturing or making reports, and organizing reports. This is not only an incompetency but also a flaw in a sense of social responsibility and understanding of collectivism.

(3) Because of staffing and other reasons and various practical considerations, the number of professional writers, of course, cannot be too large and should be strictly controlled. However, under the present situation when new literary talents are coming forth in large numbers, persons requesting to become professional writers are increasing more and more and becoming a professional writer is more and more difficult. Even by expanding the staffing of professional writers in the various locations by 200 percent, it still would not greatly alleviate this contradiction.

Furthermore being a professional writer means the gaining of a "life time" iron rice bowl. Thus, the professional writers who cannot produce any writings temporarily or over a rather long period of time will feel very worried and pressured, while the sparetime writers, who want to be professional writers and cannot, will think that it is unjust and will be unconvinced, thereby creating barriers and contradictions. On the subject of comrades who want to become professional writers badly and who look for connections all over the place, contact leaders, seek help from persons of influence, or other similar means, I will not talk about it for the time being.

Everything divides into two. It is impossible to imagine a perfect concrete system or method without any fault. However, can we make some probings in order to reform our system of organization for professional writers so that it will become even more perfect, more flexible, more suitable, and will have less side effects?

For instance, aside from promoting measures for deeper involvement with the realities of life and for strengthening political-ideological work, we can consider the following as far as the organization is concerned:

(1) Establish more "time limits" and less "no time limit" for professional writers. For instance, in general, each duration for professional writers can be established as 3 to 5 years. At the end of the duration, they would return to work in their original units or systems. A small number of them may be assigned to other work depending on conditions. After working for a specific period of time, they could request to become professional writers again. However, this should be strictly controlled. The small number of comrades who have rich experiences and are exuberant writers may be given longer durations as professional writers. However, even these should be on a rotational and replacement basis and should not be on a life time basis. For instance, it could be specified that a professional writer of long duration must work as a sparetime writer one out of every three years. During the one year, he could enter deeply into the basic levels to do practical work. He could also engage in the administrative,

teaching, or editing and publishing work in a literary and art unit. This measure will reduce the problem that many comrades currently in non-creative writing positions are not contented with their work. It will also enable professional writers to more totally and realistically understand the society and understand living and literature from a different angle and receive relevant training. A certain amount of exchange and substitution between creative writing and editing is particularly beneficial not only to the writers but also to improving the professional level of editing. Based on the effective experience of the Communist Youth League which requires every member to take on some social work, every professional writer should also take on one or two items of social work in addition to his writing activity. He should directly take on a concrete and regular work of social responsibility, such as teaching night school, assisting in the review of manuscripts, or party and youth league organizational work, in order to strengthen his feeling of social responsibility and consciousness of collectivism as well as the relationship between a writer and social life.

(3) Establish literature research institutes and other honorary academic organizations and also set up a retirement system for professional writers. Old writers with considerable achievements may enter the institutes when creative writing ceases to be their primary activity. Other writers will retire when they have reached their retirement age.

(4) The method of material remuneration for professional writers should be appropriately readjusted. In theory, professional writers should depend primarily on manuscript fees for their livelihood. From the standpoint of the system of organization, this method has the advantage of guaranteeing the mobility of the professional writers ranks and strictness in selection. Of course, it also has its shortcomings, especially the possibility of abuse resulting from too close a relationship between writing and remuneration. Consequently, there should be various forms of supplemental measures. For instance, to assure a writers' basic living necessities, a specific living allowance could be paid or a wage may be paid at a specific discount. The dual remuneration system of receiving both wages with normal promotion and wage adjustment and manuscript fees over the long term is not rational enough and makes it easy for writers to be divorced from the masses. Also, a literary fund and creative writing credit may be set up to subsidize and assist persons engaged in large, long-term creative writings. Special support and encouragement may be given to persons engaged in writings of serious and important subjects which are difficult for wide sales from a commercial point of view. Special care may be given to writers of advanced age and in poor physical condition who are unable to take on other work. At the same time, manuscript fee standards should be readjusted. In summary, it is necessary to give considerations and have subsidies, but it is best that we do not have an iron rice bowl.

The above is easy to say, but it is not simple to put into practice. It involves many practical problems which cannot be solved by a literature and arts group or even by the cultural and propaganda departments. It is also

possible that some of the above thinking has its unrealistic points. Moreover, any changes in this area will affect many comrades, especially the actual benefits received by current professional writers. Thus, this writer had considerable fears and trepidation when he was asked by the BEIJING RIBAO to write this article. However, we can at least raise this problem, talk about it, and discuss the principles or ideological guidelines. The reason why this writer has taken the liberty to raise this problem is merely to offer a few general remarks so that others may come up with valuable opinions and solutions and plans may be jointly devised, making our system of organization for professional writers more perfect, more rational, and advantageous to a more healthy and more vigorous development in literary works.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COMMENTS ON COMPILING TEXTBOOK ON CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

Wuchang HUAZHONG SHIYUAN XUEBAO [JOURNAL OF CENTRAL CHINA TEACHERS COLLEGE, PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION] in Chinese No 6, Nov 82. pp 44-65

[Article by Feng Mu [7458 3668]]

[Text] I am honored to be asked to advise on the compilation of a textbook on "Contemporary Chinese Literature," and I am prepared to learn at this meeting how to examine the manuscript and join with all of you in this pursuit which is profoundly meaningful as a literary undertaking, and beneficial to the education of the young and the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. I am afraid I should not be able to express any profound views except to offer a few simple observations for you comrades to consider.

First of all, I should like to speak briefly about my basic impression of this textbook (the manuscript submitted for discussion). Having read both volumes of the book before I came to this meeting, I feel the comrades concerned have done a signal job. This textbook has incorporated the experience and strong points of several similar textbooks used in China in the past few years, and has avoided a number of their drawbacks and mistakes. Taking its framework as a whole, it has laid a fairly structured foundation on which we can write a comparatively comprehensive history of contemporary literature in terms of the basic guiding ideology, the basic themes, and the introduction to and the evaluation of writers and their works. It has done this appropriately in several important areas, ranging from the clarity of the guiding ideology, the planning of the general outline to the arrangement of the structural layout. Personally I am in favor of approaching the compilation of a history of literature, with the focus falling on evaluating and analyzing the creations of the writers. It should be neither an enumeration of the phenomena and events in the development of literature nor a symposium of evaluations of writers and their works. The way we used to write the history of literature was to overstress movements and ideological struggles, turning a history of the development of literature into a history of literary and art ideological struggles or a history of literary movements. Of course, the history of literary movements is essential, but if we want to write a comparatively good history of contemporary literature, we should focus on presenting the analysis and evaluation of writers and their works in order to let the reading public see the basic conditions, basic trends and basic law

the development of the contemporary literature. We should neither overlook nor disregard the literary movements and the literary and art ideological struggles which bear upon literary creations. Instead of confining them to the analysis and evaluation of writers and their works, the compilers of this textbook also have to study carefully the literary and art ideological struggles of the past 32 years. Focusing as it does on both the evaluation and analysis of writers and their works, especially outstanding writers and their works, and selective analysis and accounts of the important struggles and historical events which had occurred in the realm of literature and art during the past 32 years, I believe this textbook on the whole is a well balanced representation of the development of contemporary literature.

Needless to say, it also has its weak points and drawbacks, which I think may be narrowed down to a failure to combine history and opinions as an organic whole so as to analyze and explain the problems more penetratingly and precisely. This includes some sections which deal exclusively with the evaluation of writers and their works without considering the problems from the viewpoint of historical development, nor explaining very clearly the relationship of the evaluation and presentation of the writers and their works to the important literary phenomena of a given period, and the failure to analyze and present the experience and teachings of the socialist literature satisfactorily, realistically and scientifically. Sometimes the wording is too blunt and too stiff. Excessive bluntness and stiffness do not fit in a compilation of a history of literature. In spite of the drawbacks and a few matters calling for further deliberation, the manuscript on the whole provides us with a sound foundation for additional processing and a base for building a huge mansion. Today our work can proceed smoothly under more favorable conditions. If we make full use of these favorable conditions to reinforce ourselves with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and the literary and art programs of the party, do our best to absorb the best experience and research achievements of our fellow-professionals, and draw on their experiences as we listen to the valuable comments of all the specialists who are at this meeting to examine the manuscript, plus the arduous efforts of the comrades who compile the text, I am sure we will be able to accomplish this meaningful work.

I should like to express my views under five different headings.

#### I. A Summation of the Guiding Ideology for the Compilation of the Textbook and the Basic Experiences of the Contemporary Literature

The compilation of a good textbook on "Contemporary Chinese Literature" rests primarily on a correct guiding ideology. I should like to suggest three particulars as reference for revising the manuscript.

First, it is necessary to uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology. It is necessary to apply the Marxist view of literature and art as a criterion to our study, analysis and understanding of all the phenomena in literature and art, and rely on the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee as a guide to analyze all the important phenomena in literature and art and the literary

achievements in the development of contemporary literature. This kind of summary presentation must be as accurate and profound as possible. Caution is required in dealing with certain important problems, especially those controversial ones. There is no room for departure from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in handling all the important events and problems in the development of literature, nor could we disregard the guidance of the party and act on our own initiative and draw conclusions which do not agree with the objective reality.

Second, uphold unequivocally and affirmatively the correct direction of the socialist literature, meaning literature which serves both the people and socialism.

Third, uphold the principle that truth comes from practice and apply the criterion based on the unity of historical and aesthetical views and the harmony of ideology and art to the analysis and evaluation of the writers and their works should gravitate toward the interests of the people, and the most crucial test is to see whether they benefit or harm the basic interests of the people. The contemporary literature of China has built a remarkable record of achievements in the past 23 years, including a wealth of experience and unforgettable lessons. How are we going to sum up some of the important experiences and lessons of the literary undertaking in the past 23 years? This question calls for more in-depth research and discussion because it is conducive to diverse viewpoints, understandings and points of emphasis. But, it seems that the following are the most basic and most vital points in the development of the socialist literature in China which we ought to sum up first.

1. Understand and handle correctly the relationship between literature, art and politics. The relationship between literature, art and politics is in reality the relationship between literature, art and the people, or the relationship between literature, art and the basic interests of the people. In the past 32 years, our literary undertaking has flourished and developed rapidly whenever we understood and handled this problem correctly and satisfactorily, i.e. when we regarded politics as the people's politics, the politics of the masses which struggle for the basic interests of the people. On the contrary, when we failed to understand the problem correctly, or confounded the overall objective of literature to serve the people, or interpreted politics strictly as the practical tasks of specific policies of a given period, our literary undertaking usually suffered setbacks of even stagnated. The relationship between literature, art and politics, basically speaking, is actually an issue of the relationship between literature, art and the people. Although literature and art cannot stay away from politics, and very often reflect intense political issues, the people's needs for literature and art are very extensive and diverse. Comrade Hu Qiaomu's clear and profound views on the relationship between literature, art and politics, I believe, are convincing and in agreement with the reality and the basic law of the development of Chinese literature and art in the last few decades.

2. Understand and carry out correctly the socialist oriented "double-hundred" program. Our literary undertaking must follow the socialist

direction. Whether it develops or recedes, flourishes or stagnates depends on how correctly we understand and carry out the socialist oriented "double-hundred" program. The literary undertaking is a kind of creative and highly democratic work. That is to say, if the creativity, wisdom and potential of all the artists were not brought into play to a high degree, we would not be able to develop fully our literary undertaking. Of course the democracy we have in mind is the socialist and proletarian democracy, and not the bourgeois democracy. All arbitrary decisions and "the rule by the opinion of one person" are incompatible with literary creation. The "double-hundred" program is the realization of the socialist democracy in the realm of literature and art. "Let a hundred flowers bloom and let a hundred schools of thought contend" was first suggested as a policy in early 1956. It became a basic policy when Comrade Mao Zedong set it forth in his article "On Correct Handling of the Internal Contradictions of the People" in 1957. Prior to this, Comrade Mao Zedong had touched upon it repeatedly at the supreme state gatherings and in his speeches at the gatherings of the comrades of literary and art circles. We might say that Comrade Mao Zedong has been deliberating on it for a long time before he set it forth as a policy, a program by which he expounded and developed the Marxist view of literature and art. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi said, the "double-hundred" program is an affirmative class policy of the proletariat, and not an unprincipled abstract program. It is designed to bring out the truth, to develop science, literature and art, and to let the new and pleasant things subdue the backward and ugly things through the medium of competition and struggle. This form of struggle as applied in the literary and academic fields should rest on reasoning and contending instead of sheer brutality. The ups and downs of the literature and art of China in the last 32 years are attributable directly and to a certain extent irrefutably to whether the socialist oriented "double-hundred" program has been correctly implemented.

3. Understand and handle correctly the relationship between literature, art and life. We must sum up correctly the concept and teachings of the slogan "reach into life." It has evolved from a partial and superficial concept, distorted by the "leftists" and the rightists, to a comprehensive, profound, and correctly understood one. Only by understanding correctly the rich content of "reach into life" and the significance of resolving correctly the relationship between literature and life can we make the slogan a motivating force to raise the quality and enhance the development of literary creations. Since the "speech," this slogan "reach into life" has been through a tortuous course of development, and sustained all kinds of distortions and misunderstandings from different directions. The "Left" obstructionists took "reaching into life" to mean only ideological transformation and change of one's viewpoint through physical labor. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" reduced it to the "punishment through labor." These distortions had a disastrous impact not only on literary and art circles but on all intellectuals too. There is no doubt that to reach into life means to achieve self-transformation. This means to transform the subjective world even as the objective world is being transformed. This point needs to be stressed but should not be the only point of emphasis. We must remember the characteristics and requirements of literature and art and the primary objective of reaching into life by the writers and artists who use life as their resources to create excellent works to serve the people.

Reaching into life as a slogan has sustained still another kind of obstruction. Some writers, especially young writers, underestimate or overlook the need to reach into life spontaneously, to keep in close contact with the masses of people, to proceed with life, to strengthen and enrich one's understanding of life, to broaden the vision of life, and to stay close to new events and things. Some writers believe they have enough to deal with in their own lives, that there is so much in the 10 disastrous years to write about that they do not need to look for new resources. Some people even picture China as being stuck forever with the sufferings of the 10 disastrous years. China is a self-sustaining nation, and the party is a dynamic forward looking party. Consequently, we encourage the writers to reach into life, not only to reach into the familiar areas of life one knows well, but to keep broadening the vision and dimension of one's own life and involving oneself with new events and things, and to experience, observe, understand and reflect the new people, new things, new ideology and new social morals which occur all the time in our daily lives. But some writers do not pay any attention to this problem, and some even oppose directly or indirectly this slogan "reach into life."

Viewed in terms of the basic law of literature and art, I think if a writer did not "reach into life," he would lose his themes and the base for his writing just like a tree without soil. Now we all face the problem of how to serve socialism well by achieving the "Four Modernizations." The mission of all our writers is to write for the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. What ought to be done to accomplish such a mission? This requires our literary creations, our best literary and artistic creations of excellent ideological and artistic quality. We would not be able to provide them unless we understand and practice correctly "reaching into life." How can one understand correctly the slogan "reach into life"? What we have in mind is for the writers and artists to reach into life and cover two different phases. First, transform the subjective world as we transform the objective world so that one's own thought and emotion merge with the thought and emotion of the biggest majority of the masses. Be a participant instead of an observer. Secondly, we might say our final objective is to create works beneficial to the people by reaching into life to strengthen our own experience in life and arts. To reach into life, a writer acts under the guidance of an advanced ideology to work for the combination and unity of the practical experience in both life and arts. If we did not have this unique ingredient of practical experience in the arts, it would be meaningless to reach into life. We have found this out the hard way. Some promising writers simply cannot write anything worthwhile even though they have lived in the villages for 4 or 5 years working wholeheartedly to identify themselves with the masses. Why? This might be due to personal ability and training, but the major cause is that some comrades often interpret "reach into life" blindly and onesidedly. They often forget that the purpose of transforming the subjective world is to write good works to serve the people. If this were forgotten, nothing else would help.

4. Handle correctly the problem of evaluating and carrying on both the Chinese and foreign cultural heritage. We should learn how to be the proper successors to the cultural treasures created by mankind over thousands of years

years, and make good use of those parts of mankind's heritage which benefit China's socialist construction so as to raise the level of our artistic thinking and our skill to depict life and create images. To do this we must liberate our mind and not reject and exclude what is good from abroad. There are writers who push this to such an extreme that they reject the good things in China even though they do not reject what is good from the West. Some even question the call for "nationalization." The cultural development of a nation is a process which links the past to the future. We derive valuable nutrients from the artistic experience of our predecessors and develop our national culture based on new life situations. But it is not enough to concentrate exclusively on this point. A country bestowed with distinguished writers and outstanding literary works would still be unable to attain great cultural achievements worthy of universal acclaim if it stresses only its own national traditions and rejects the cultural heritage of other countries. This is attested to by 19th century Russian literature. Russian writers from Pushkin and Chekhov to Gorki who stood on their national soil to absorb selectively the best of all the literary heritage from other lands actually turned what they had extracted into their own literary tools. As we have said, the writers should reach into life to get to the "source," and study the cultural heritage to cover the "flow" of literature. Chinese literature, which streams down from distant sources, is rooted in the actual life struggles of the nation and becomes a mature socialist national literature on the nourishment it continually receives all along the way. Neither blind worship of certain contemporary schools of Western literature nor utter contempt for foreign cultural heritage would contribute to the development of the Chinese socialist literature and art.

## II. On the Literature of the "Great Cultural Revolution" Period.

I should like to say something about the different stages of the history of contemporary literature. How many stages are there? At first I thought there were three. After careful consideration, I think it should be broken down into four stages. Even though the first two are more or less alike, each still has its own characteristics. When we study any particular stage, we ought to do our best to combine the social and economic factors with the characteristics of the writers and their work of that stage. Today I propose to express my views on the third and fourth stages, the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the new period after the downfall of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary faction.

How are we going to describe the literature of the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution"? The format for describing the literary development of this particular stage ought to be different than that for the first two stages. Since this was a topsy-turvy period overrun with chaos. There is no way for us to itemize the achievements in each particular area, such as fiction, poetry and so on. The only possible way is to proceed like panning gold out of sand, but this is likely to give people the impression that this was a period of silence and complete void. So I think we ought to have a clear concept of those 10 years of turmoil. This is what I believe. In spite of the gloom and doom and censuring of people's creative literary work, the perpetual flame of struggle in the innermost recesses of life still kept

burning underground close to the bottom layer of the earth's crust. All vigorous vegetation always finds its way through crevices in heavy boulders to develop. We must believe this and keep it in mind before we can describe accurately the literature of those 10 turbulent years. The following are my observations.

First, we must be prepared to draw a lesson from the bitter experience and sum up comprehensively the historical experience based on truth derived from facts in order to present the literary phenomena of this period. The destruction of the socialist literary undertaking by the counterrevolutionary faction of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing and its serious consequences must be stated in no uncertain terms. It must be pointed out clearly that this phenomena is unprecedented in the history of world literature, but this should be stated briefly, concisely, objectively and comprehensively. The serious destruction sustained by the socialist literature should not be underrated but stated accurately and precisely.

Second, may the term "conspiratory literature and art" be adopted? Personally I am not in favor of using this term in literary history. If we did, it would be a laughing stock in the history of world literature. Even though some literary and art works which had been used by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing as tools to usurp the party leadership and state power might be labelled "conspiratory literature and art," it is inappropriate in literature to regard all the literature of this particular period as "conspiratory literature and art." This would not be acceptable to the masses of Chinese literary and art workers. The "conspiratory literature and art" I referred to during the struggle to bring order out of chaos are meant to cover such works as "Fan Ji," "Shengdade Jiri," and the "theories" concocted by hack writers. But we cannot brand the erroneous writings of many comrades during that period "conspiratory literature and art." Some writers who were influenced to a given extent by the "gang of four" are not bad people. They were confronted with ideological contradictions in writing, and have turned out erroneous works rooted in certain selfish motives and perceptions. To label them along with the "eight model plays" and many other literary phenomena indiscriminately as "conspiratory literature and art" would be improper and factually incorrect. So I feel we better not use "conspiratory literature and art" to describe summarily the literary phenomena of this period. The literary works of those 10 years of internal turmoil should be analyzed carefully. Some works done at the personal direction of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing actually became the tools of their reactionary political activities. As far as this goes, they played the role of accomplices to the counterrevolutionary conspiracy. Even so, the concept of "conspiratory literature and art" is applicable only to a part of such works, and does not reflect correctly the whole spectrum of literary and artistic phenomena at that time. Some works were used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as unwitting tools for the usurpation of the party leadership and state power, and we should not label them all as "conspiratory literature and art." An even greater number of writers, I am afraid, were ideologically influenced and deceived by the "gang of four." We should regard them as the victims. Even though we should criticize their works, we should not dump them indiscriminately into the pit of trashy "conspiratory literature and art."

Third, how are we going to evaluate the so-called "model plays"? I am in favor of the one-dividing-into-two approach to analyze them carefully, and evaluate them as scientifically and truthfully as is factually possible, affirming those deserving to be affirmed and reject those deserving to be rejected. Some "model plays" were based on the suggestions of Premier Zhou, while other "model plays" were messed up by Jiang Qing who revised them to incorporate the unwarranted suggestions put forth by Kang Sheng. We have to restore their original features. We should not label all the "model plays" as "conspiratory literature and art." But we must point out the successes and failures of these works. At that time the 800 million people were allowed to see only eight model plays. Shouldn't we comment on such a rare phenomenon in the literary history? Of course we should. For instance, "Hongdeng Ji" was a good play, but Jiang Qing cut in and changed it to a model with "three unique features" to set forth a prototypical performance, prototypical leading characters and reactionary characters. While these features do not call for affirmation, some of the characters created in this opera (basically completed before 1966) ought to be analyzed realistically and accorded the historical position they deserve as artistic achievements. This approach is applicable to several other outstanding plays.

Fourth, there were two different kinds of literature and art, or literature and art of two different tendencies, in China, even in those oppressive years of rampant Fascist cultural autocracy: the one representing such literature and art as were directly or indirectly involved in the conspiracy of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary faction in the usurpation of party leadership and state power, as well as those under their ideological spell; and the other representing the people's revolutionary militant literature and art. The people's revolutionary literature and art, which have never stopped growing, expanding and fighting, represent a reality, a literary phenomena not to be overlooked, even though they cover a wide range of diverse situations. Those engaged in the pursuit of such literary activities have fought for very different causes, including spontaneous support for the party, individual rebellion and personal liberation. This kind of literature covers a wide range of activities. The Tianamen poems and songs belong to this category. They are a very complex phenomenon which we ought to understand and analyze anew. Politically speaking, the Tianamen poems and songs have made lasting contributions, which as I said in 1977 will eventually be according a unique place in the history of contemporary Chinese literature. Judged in terms of pure art, I am afraid very few of the poems would qualify as artistic creations. But some of them which upheld the cause of the party do measure up to the historical and aesthetical standards. At that time there were some upright writers who kept alive their writing activities and produced literary works despite threatening adversity. This includes the poems written by Guo Xiaochuan. There were also other writers who opposed the reactionary policies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Even though they did not use literature as a weapon to register their opposition like Guo Xiaochuan, they still managed to pursue their creative activities and turned out some excellent works beneficial to the people, such as "Li Zicheng" (Part II) by Yao Xueyin. Again "Xingxing Cao" was actually written by Ling Li during the 10 turbulent years. Although not a fighter who takes her cause against the enemy to the street, this amateur writer is anxious to use her

literary creations to serve the people. Availing herself of the rare opportunities of this unique period, she has turned out works of lasting value for the people. There are many more instances like this.

The literature of this particular stage seems to fall into two categories: the overtly circulated and covertly circulated. But there is no justification to group the literary works into two cut-and-dried groups; the revolutionary, on the one hand, and the nonrevolutionary or counterrevolutionary, on the other. The militant literary activities of the people at that time, like a volcano heaving and churning beneath the earth's crust, would erupt when the time comes. We should present to the public this momentum, this unique phenomenon laden with endless wisdom and power indicative of the emergence of a new artistic era. There were lots of excellent works in this period, including Guo Xiaochuan's poetry and movies "Chuang Ye" and "Shanshande Hongxing." Although "Jinguang Dadao" is a defective work, I am in favor of dividing it into two instead of grouping it with the overtly circulated category.

### III. The Literature of the New Era

The literature of the new era has attained a splendid record. This is a brand new era in the history of contemporary Chinese literature. Compared to the preceding three stages, this is marked completely by different historic, ideologic and artistic characteristics.

First, the literature of this era is tied closely to the profound great struggles at the political and ideological fronts. It is the literature of a transitional period. No literature of any other period is as closely tied to the developments at the political, ideological and even the economic fronts as the literature of this period. Literature and art cannot stay away from politics, sometimes closer and sometimes not so close. But the relationship between literature and revolutionary politics has never been closer than in recent years. This great unprecedented transitional period has experienced many new problems and new struggles which have never occurred in history. The very first epoch-making event was the large-scale struggle to bring order out of chaos, a struggle so profound and widespread that it affected all phases of the social, political, economic and cultural life of the whole country. The impact of all these has found swift, direct, plentiful and extensive expressions in literature. This is a spectacular feature of the literature of this new era.

Second, the replacement of the old by the new and the crisscrossing of the old and the new ideologies during this period have also found expressions in literature. Some young writers who refuse to admit that literary creations should take the social consequences into consideration are just out of touch with reality. Has there even been a piece of writing which did not fear directly or indirectly on politics or ideology in one way or another? Very few. (Of course we are not discussing such literary and artistic phenomena as painting flowers, birds, insects and fish.) Literary works with strong social orientation, such as fiction, poetry and drama, have reflected quite profoundly the replacement of the old by the new and the crisscrossing of the

old and the new. Unlike the literature of any other period, the social impact of the literary achievements of this particular period is so powerful that it reactivates the people's thinking and enhances social development, including the improvement of certain institutions.

Third, the literature of this period represents in part the drive to liberate the mind after the people have gone through a long period of repression and gloom. Like an erupting volcano, it is somewhat like an explosion of the forces, potentials and wisdom that had built up in those 10 years. The release of the literary and artistic productivity led to an unprecedented outburst of forceful creativity. No other period had ever had so many excellent works and excellent writers within such a short period. I do not want to say whether they surpass or fall behind those of the 17 years. Judged by the wealth and diversity of the works, the ideological depth of the major themes, and the creativity of the writers this deserves to be proclaimed a unique period in the history of Chinese literature.

Some people allege that the literature of this period represents a "false flourish," a "poisonous flourish." Personally, I do not agree with such an assessment. The literature of any period is bound to have its mainstream and deviations, its upright profound works as well as its superficial erroneous ones. We cannot say that the flourish of the literature of this period is false and poisonous just because there were a few erroneous works. I do not agree with such pessimistic statements. There is adequate data to illustrate its remarkable achievements which we should not underestimate, even though we do not need to enumerate them. Judged by quantity, has there ever been a period in the history of contemporary literature which witnessed the appearance of 400 novels and 700 medium-length novels? Although literary achievements do not depend on quantity, quality does not exist without quantity. Generally speaking, high quality works are found in a specific quantity of works.

Could the literary development of this period be broken down into different parts? Clearcut division is of course quite difficult. I should like to divide the literature of this period into four parts in order to consider the causes and trends of its development. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee is a conspicuous landmark for all the four parts.

Part one, the situation in the first couple of years after the downfall of the counterrevolutionary faction of Jiang Qing was like this. The eruptions of indignation, hatred and the will to fight which had been repressed for 10 years drove the people to charge forward like warriors out of their trenches to go after the enemies and defend the commanding position of their combat commanders. Some comrades describe the characteristics of this period as "criticize the 'gang of four' and sing the praise of the older generation." Even though some of the literary works of this period are successful and some are not (especially not regarding artistic skills), I am afraid they still deserve a place in history. For instance, "Fenyehonglede Shihou" is artistically rather crude, but the combatant role it played far exceeds that of all other works of a similar nature. This is also a period dominated by modern drama, short stories and comic dialogues.

Part two, drawing a lesson from their traumatic experience, people began gradually to ponder over the future of China, what the future holds for it, and how to deal with the wounds inflicted by the "gang of four"? The representative works of this period are "Banzhuren" and "Shanghen." They have already won their place in history whether you like them or not. They were the first to focus on the question of "wounds." Although there are both correct and incorrect approaches to this question, the correct approach is to face up to the wounds inflicted during those 10 years without moaning and groaning, and, as Lu Xun said, lick your wounds quietly as the wild animals do. The reason people recall and expose their wounds is to heal them and then make a new start. This ought to be the positive implication of genuine "scar literature." The impact of so many works on this particular theme should not be underestimated.

Part three, China, after years of struggle, has reached a historical turning point in bringing order out of chaos. Working under the influence of the policy and guiding ideology formulated at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the writers of China have begun to evolve a new approach to social and revolutionary developments. Many writers cannot help but look back with a new spirit to what they themselves have been through, to the road traveled by the party and the state, the road traveled by China's industry, agriculture and cultural undertakings, and the road traveled by the working masses and intellectuals, and try to understand, analyze and reflect on them anew. This kind of literature perhaps represents what is known as "reminiscent literature." This period saw the emergence of many powerful works, such as "Fan ren Li Tongzhongde Gushi," "Ianji cuolede Gushi," "Heiqi," "Hudie," "Tianyunshan Chuanqi," which have drawn the attention of the reading public because they have dealt with these major themes. These works play an extensive and far-reaching role in helping people understand the history, grasp the reality, and look forward to the future.

Some people want to know my attitude toward the "scar literature" and the "reminiscent literature." I should like to say I am not in favor of applying such concepts to the history of literature because they are too ambiguous and conducive to different interpretations by different people. They may sound laudatory to some but derogatory to others. Consequently, it is better not to use them.

Part four, the writers who began voluntarily to coordinate their literary and artistic work with the historical tasks of the Four Modernizations have been able to produce works geared to reality and reflecting the redirected priorities. The earliest representative works are Liang Zileng's "Qiaochangzhang Shangrenji" and "Chi Cheng Huang Lu Lan Zi"; Zhang Xianliang's "Longzhong" and the works of many other writers, including Shen Rong and Zhang Yigong.

This is a very productive period of literary creations. The quantity and quality of these works, the tremendous number of writers, and the breadth and depth of the major themes they have dealt with make the development of Chinese literature take on a brand new look. We should reaffirm that this is the mainstream, we must also admit that there are deviations from the main

course of the literary undertaking. The way to handle this should include the following. First, we must recognize it as the mainstream. Second, we must also recognize its deviations and not underestimate their impact. Third, we must analyze the causes of the deviations in order to overcome them. Fourth, we must not reject the mainstream just because there are deviations. The most important point is to find out the causes of the deviations and the way to overcome them as we witness the expansion of the mainstream. Our task, therefore, is to develop the mainstream and overcome the deviations.

#### What are the manifestations of the deviations?

First, a small number of writers in their works have broken away to a certain degree from the leadership of the party and abandoned the socialist road for bourgeois liberalism. They did not catch us by surprise because they reflect a certain social ideological trend, possibly the budding of certain unhealthy ideological and artistic trends under brand new conditions. An example of this kind of erroneous writing is "Kulian" which has been criticized by newspapers and publications. We should regard this as a normal phenomenon which we run into in our effort to overcome the deviations, and this is not a case by itself. We ought to work through the mechanism of literary criticism to criticize and guide those works which are halfhearted concerning the undertakings of the party and the people, and resistant to the party's leadership, or which question or oppose the policy of Third Plenary Session of 11th CPC Central Committee out of a residual ideological influence of the "gang of four."

Second, a small number of young writers who, due to personal frustrations and a lopsided view of society, have lost confidence in the undertakings of the socialist fatherland and are often carried away by pessimism or even nihilism. These pessimistic and nihilistic feelings have been woven into fiction by talented young writers. I do not consider that all the works of these writers reflect bourgeois liberalism nor their subjective opposition to socialism. Their preception might be lopsided or erroneous. We ought to educate and guide these writers, and make concrete analyses of their works. Some writers who have not mastered Marxism very often arrive at negative conclusions or draw their lesson from those 10 turbulent years. As a result, some of them set out to blaze new trails or forsake Marxism for some new "isms." Some have found anarchism, some have found Sartre's existentialism, some have found the Freudian subconscious, while others simply go to extreme individualism and believe that "one who does not work for his own interests is bound to perish." Writings of this kind are by no means rare even though very few of them indulge in vulgarity. Of course we should not brand them indiscriminately as the advocates of the bourgeois liberalism. Let me give you a few examples. The first one is "Wanxia Xiaoshide Shihou," a work widely read by young people. While it demonstrates the talent of a young writer, it also reflects the confusion in the young writer's guiding ideology. While he, himself, is unable to answer the questions which confront him in life, the hero in his work is also a victim of ideological frustrations. They (including the writer himself) do not understand Marxism, nor believe in it. He is obviously concerned about life, but finds the future unpredictable

and blurred. As a result, he finally takes refuge in Christian and Buddhist teachings which the writer himself does not know too well. Although the writing itself is colorful and captivating, it is full of ideological confusion. The Buddhist and Christian teachings it pursues are incompatible with the personalities it describes. One of the striking drawbacks of this work which gives us concern is that young Chinese writers should not be indifferent toward or estranged from Marxism-Leninism. They ought to study Marxism-Leninism because that is the only way to help them gain an in-depth understanding of life and its potentials. This is one type. Another type may be represented by "Zai Tongyi Dipingxianshang," which I think favors the theory of the survival of the fittest, regardless of the subjective intent of the writer. Although it is written in the modernist style, its major theme is in reality the popular idea of the survival of the fittest, widely accepted in the capitalist society. This means man must struggle ruthlessly to survive. I think this is akin to Sartre's existentialism. Even though the writer might not have read Sartre's books nor heard about "the other guy is hell" and "man should have freedom of choice," the personal relations in the socialist society as described in this work reflect quite vividly this particular idea. Now, to advocate such an idea in literary works simply does not help raise the spiritual level of man. Even so, I still do not favor marking this work as one which comes under the bourgeois liberalism. Another example is "Chuntiande Tonghua." Some people who sympathize with the writer's misfortune have not assessed the work correctly. They have failed to notice that the thought reflected in the work is a low level outright advocacy of egoism, an ideology which is incompatible with the moral and ideological concepts of the socialist society. The phases of our social life depicted in the work are distorted.

Third, some works which lack firm conviction in the people's undertakings are attributable not so much to any serious ideological errors as the wavering and wait-and-see attitude of the writers. At the same time, they are not skillful enough to create the images of life as completely and profoundly as the people want. Handicapped by both ideological misgivings and inadequacy in artistic skill, their works are lopsided in one way or another, or give lopsided views of the contradictions in our social life, or unduly exaggerate the pitfalls of life. As these lopsided perceptions are expressed in the personality of the people described in their works, the people and their environment thus depicted are no longer representative of the norms in reality. We would not be able to convince the writers if we were to attribute this to questionable political ideology, because there are many factors involved, including ideological problems, lopsided perception of life and the inadequacy of artistic expressions. We need to seek truth from facts and analyze these works in the light of their actual conditions.

Fourth, there is a group of writers, mostly poets, who use their creations for self-expression regardless of the realities. As far as I can see, we should not indiscriminately oppose any poet whose self-expression is rooted in reality or who reflects reality in terms of his own experience. After all, literary excellence rests on the personal experience of a writer, his perception of life, and the unity and combination of the subjective and the objective factors. Now some comrades call for aesthetic "pluralism" which in reality is

philosophical "pluralism." We believe literature and art should face reality and reflect reality, and life is the primary and only fountainhead of literary creations. Yet there are some comrades who have reversed the relations and positions of the subjective and the objective. Some people who care very little for a life of fervent struggles claim that the most valuable fountainhead of literature and art is the innermost feelings and mental activities of people. Some comrades even go so far as to say that the best literature, befitting modern day life, is that which reflects the subconscious, unconscious, and troubled mental activities of people. I am not opposed to hazy poetry, especially those poetic works which are implicit in expression but explicit in thought. As a matter of fact, poetry should be implicit in expression. If all poetry were done in plain bland language, what kind of poetry would that be? But there are poets who, due to haziness of thought, do not know how to express clearly their thoughts in implicit expressions. What they know is how to use hazy and unintelligible symbols to express what they themselves do not really understand. I do not think I can appreciate that kind of stuff, and yet that is what some young poets have been looking for. We must remember that literary works are for people to read. What purpose would one's creations serve if the reading public did not understand them?

Fifth, a small minority of young writers have been working for the "denationalization" of literature, and call for the Chinese literature "to enter the world arena." They allege that intensive nationalization of literature is bound to obstruct its modernization. I think it is an exercise in futility to present the literature of China to the world through such a channel. No country can ever expect to have great literary works and great writers when its literary creations break away from its people and the soil on which they exist. If a writer lost his national identity, he would lose the distinct color of his life, the individuality of his art, and the distinguishing features of his works. I am a bit concerned that the Chinese literary circles are dominated much more by those faddist writers who are infatuated with the pursuit of Western modernism than by those who are committed to honest explorations of the value of life and traditions. As I have said many times before, I hope our middle-aged and young writers will strive to be excellent writers, even great writers, and not aspire to be perishable faddist writers.

The emergence of the phenomena described above should by no means escape our attention. Since we want to develop the mainstream and overcome the deviations, we should understand and analyze the deviations, and find out why they are called deviations. We must analyze the subjective and objective factors of their emergence. Although we should not dwell on these problems in our account of the literature of the new era, it would still be unacceptable if we left these literary phenomena out completely. While it is necessary to bring out these deviations in our literature, we must not arbitrarily label any literary phenomenon "Left" or Right, because "Left" and "Right" are political concepts. You may say this piece of writing is a success or failure, correct or erroneous, revolutionary or not revolutionary, but you should not say, indiscriminately, that a particular writer or works are "Left" or Right. However, judged in the light of the guiding ideology and the leading policy of the literary and art front, the problem of persistent struggle between the two fronts in literature does indeed exist. We are

opposed to the "Left" as we are opposed to the Right. We often run into people who ask: Should we focus now on opposing the "Left" or on opposing the Right. My answer is that we will handle whatever the trend is. We who are engaged in theoretical criticism and ideological work should have the foresight to act preemptively and get on top of the actual situation quickly. This is the only way to accomplish our view that in literary creation, the writers ought to have complete freedom to create within the framework of a broad direction under proper leadership and guidance.

#### IV. How To Reflect the Major Events and Ideological Struggles in the History of Contemporary Literature

Since the problem is comparatively broad in scope, I wish to limit my personal comments to the following five issues.

##### (1) The problems concerning the method of presentation.

Several major events and ideological struggles in the history of the contemporary literature have actually turned into movements of different intensity, which are known as mass movements, political movements or class struggles. For instance, the criticism of Hu Feng became a class struggle, and then broadened into a struggle against the enemy. This is rare in the history of Chinese literature, and maybe even in the history of world literature. As a matter of fact, we could have resolved certain problems and contradictions in the literary history of China by academic discussions and ideological debates, and yet we usually turned to ideological debates and mass movements for solutions. I am sure this has left us with many unforgettable and painful lessons to remember. Since these movements have become important and unavoidable issues in the history of contemporary literature, we have to deal with them when we prepare a literary history. Consequently, the first problem is how to present them in writing. Shall we present the facts by quoting objectively and naturally those belligerent utterances, reports, and essays or apply an entirely different approach? I think we may apply our current perception as a criterion by which to select the most representative and reasonable parts of those utterances, reports, speeches and essays, and not quote indiscriminately those sharply critical and warlike writings. For instance, quotations in our textbook such as "Wu Xun is a most repulsive, most hypocritical and most reactionary lackey of the feudalist society." Even though the statement was completely intelligible at that time, it is inappropriate to quote a statement like that by today's standard. Our primary concern today rests on the method and attitude of presentation. I think we must work earnestly to seek truth from facts and make concrete analysis. Personally, I think the presentation of the arguments on the study of the "Hongloumeng" in the first draft of the textbook is good enough to be called realistic and practical even though there are some inaccuracies.

##### (2) The problems concerning the "Wu Xun Zhuan"

Now, scholars are writing again on the problems of the "Wu Xun Zhuan," and some have even spoken out for the rehabilitation of Wu Xun. The most fascinating thing is that I have seen the writings by the descendants of Wu Xun

asking for investigations and rehabilitation. They have produced facts to show that Wu Xun was not as repulsive and terrible as he was described during the struggle. Of course we have to abide by the principle of seeking truth from facts and apply the historical materialist approach to the study and analysis of these writings, including the written appeal of Wu Xun's relatives. We should also take any other reliable data as reference for further evaluation of this historical case. But we have not gathered enough information to provide any grounds for reaching a new historical conclusion on the evaluation of the Wu Xun the "Wu Xun Zhuan." Nor have we uncovered any weighty evidence to justify a different verdict on Wu Xun and proclaim as has been done by some that he represented the working people. We must proceed cautiously because this is a complicated problem. Even if we were able to explore the case again, it would still be hard to predict what the verdict on Wu Xun and the "Wu Xun Zhuan" would eventually be. Judging by the image portrayed in the "Wu Xun Zhuan," the movie script, there are many negative matters which are not in the best interest of the ideological and spiritual well-being of the newly liberated Chinese people. Consequently, it is unwise to "champion" the cause "gallantly" unless we have abundant evidence to fall back on. The problem of the "Wu Xun Zhuan" is an academic issue and not a political issue. It is an issue concerning the evaluation by literary works of a historical figure. I still believe the basic principles for analyzing and evaluating historical figures should be in keeping with the spirit of the historical materialist approach to history. In a word, I do not think we should modify the basic conclusions on Wu Xun and the "Wu Xun Zhuan," arrived at under the leadership of Chairman Mao, unless we have new findings from in-depth investigations to support a different conclusion. Of course we should strive to seek truth from facts and reason things out on the strength of the data we have on hand, as we present with the best intentions this historical case. We should not quote plain-spoken, flagrant and violent statements. I want to point out that sections of the textbook on ideological struggles involve some responsible comrades in literary and art circles. The section on the "Wu Xun Zhuan" contains quotations of obviously inappropriate statements by certain comrades. Lengthy quotations which are incorrect by today's standard are found in other parts of the book. All these may be restated instead of quoted at length. I do not mean "to cover up the faults of the great." On the contrary, I do hope our comrades who compile this literary history are as fair in their judgement as "the writings of Dong Hu" and "The Spring Autumn Annals." We should respect the theory of historical materialism, work for the interests of all, analyze everything carefully, and not indulge in naturalism in handling any problem. We ought to spare our criticisms whenever necessary; try to avoid as much as possible irritating and ideologically critical language.

Compared to the section on the "Wu Xun Zhuan," the section on the controversies concerning the "Hongloumen" is much better, even though there are too many quotations in plain-spoken, flagrant and violent language. On the whole, however, the description and analysis are pretty fair. Consequently, I do not think I need to go into the problem any further.

(3) The problem concerning the anti-Hu Feng struggle.

I think this chapter of the textbook agrees basically with the objective facts and is therefore more convincing. But it is impossible to convince everybody. There are bound to be some comrades who view this problem differently. Therefore it is of great importance to the compilers of this textbook that we continue to study and explore the problem truthfully. No matter whether we win the support of as many readers as we hope, we still want to evaluate the struggle realistically in the light of our present day viewpoint. The political aspect of the problem has been made simple by the decision of the CPC Central Committee to rehabilitate those involved. The problem concerning Comrade Hu Feng and several other comrades is an internal contradiction of the people, and not a contradiction between ourselves and the enemy, nor a controversy about revolution versus counterrevolution. This is a well established fact. What happened was that the drive to criticize their literary ideology and viewpoint, and certain literary activities, had gradually turned into a political struggle against counterrevolution, and then a struggle against a counterrevolutionary faction. That was a mistake. It is not right nor necessary to repeat in a history of literature the political verdict on Comrade Hu Feng and other comrades. The lifelong activities of Comrade Hu Feng attest that he is a progressive writer dedicated to the cause of the revolution. Regardless of his shortcomings and erroneous literary ideology, viewpoints and activities, there is no need to include the minute details of his life experience in the literary history. The biographical sketch of Comrade Hu Feng may be based in his own autobiography. This is applicable to other writers whose background resembles his. Although the life experiences of a writer is important, we should not judge him on the strength of any particular thing he had done in a particular year. Instead, we should make a comprehensive evaluation based on his overall revolutionary and literary work, and its impact. The real problems we face now in most cases involve literary ideology instead of politics. Differences in literary ideology, no matter how acute, are still the internal contradictions of the people, and should be handled accordingly.

The literary work of Comrade Hu Feng and those who shared his views in the 1930's, 1940's and 1950's enhancing the revolutionary cause and for decades helping the Left literary movement and the socialist cultural and artistic undertakings, has been rated differently in several current textbooks, either too high or too low. But it is true that he made contributions of different dimensions at different times. So we must actually analyze his activities. The description of his earlier literary activities, for instance, in the 1930's, and those before and after the war against Japan, as well as those after the liberation should be based on facts and the actual conditions at that time. His literary activities right after the liberation, in the mid-1950's, should also be analyzed factually and specifically. The magazine QI YUE should be remembered for its contribution to the war efforts against Japan and the revolutionary literary undertakings, because it served as a center around which a group of writers rallied and as the publisher of many excellent writings. One of its commendable feats is its publication of Chairman Mao's important speech on Lu Xun.

The political rehabilitation of Comrade Hu Feng and the affirmation of his historical achievements do not imply an affirmation of all his literary ideology and viewpoints. We should study and analyze his literary ideology and the guiding ideology behind his literary criticisms because some of them are either incorrect or erroneous even though most of them are correct. For instance, his views on the relationship between literature, art and life; on the nationalization of literature and art; and his basic judgment and theoretical assessment of Chairman Mao's "speech" call for extensive reexamination. We do not agree with his disapproval of Chairman Mao's "speech."

He questioned and even rejected the Yenan Rectification Campaign and the antisubjectivism drive. To counter the antisubjectivism drive and the call for research and investigations sponsored by the Yenan Rectification Campaign, he published an article entitled "On Subjectivism" based on erroneous reasoning. I propose that our analysis of Hu Feng's literary ideology should not be too involved nor too minute. A summary analysis of several major viewpoints would suffice. To reflect the true facts, our approach should be well-intentioned and reasonable, the kind of approach and attitude required for handling the internal contradictions of the people and for theoretical and academic deliberations, instead of extreme and harsh comments. Although we should be unequivocal and straightforward, we must watch our language and the tone of our expressions. Our attitude must be completely well-intentioned and reasonable. The description and evaluation of Comrade Hu Feng contained in the preliminary draft of the textbook may be considerably condensed as in the case of the evaluation of the criticisms on the "Wu Xun Zhuan" and the evaluations of Yu Pingbo's studies of the "Hongloumeng." Try to be concise and comprehensive enough to present the overall framework.

I think the way our textbook handled the correct literary ideology of Hu Feng and the one-divides-into-two analysis of his literary ideology is in keeping with the actual situation. Since the one-divides-into-two analysis is applicable to everything, it is naturally applicable to Hu Feng and his literary ideology. But the wording of the problem concerning the subject matter in the textbook calls for further examination because it affirms that Hu Feng's view on this matter is critical of the simplified views on the principle of determinate subject matters. We need further research to ascertain whether this is actually the case. I think Comrade Hu Feng's objection to the principle of "determinate subject matters" implies his advocacy of the "parity of subject matters." Are the subject matters really equal in importance? It is alleged that unlike the major themes, the subject matters are not distinguishable by their relative importance. This is a lopsided view, and I am in favor of the following. First, a writer should feel free to write what he wants and what he is able to write, and there is no need to impose any restrictions. Working within the breadth of the socialist direction, all writers should have plenty of freedom and a lot of room to apply their talent. This is in keeping with what Lenin said in his "Party Organization and Party Publications." Second, judged from the viewpoint of providing a guiding ideology for writers and artists and from the viewpoint of a critic who is responsible for the promotion of literary creations, a party leader of a keen critic of considerable ideological caliber should make clear his attitude

toward the subject matters and major themes of a given period's literary creations for which he is responsible, while assuring all the writers plenty of freedom to choose their subject matters. We do not approve of either flagrant interference or a laissez-faire attitude. Some comrade suggested that the party may lead literature and art by "governing through inaction," a concept first advanced by Comrade Chen Yun. But he made the suggestion with certain conditions. He did not mean that the party should have nothing to do with literature and art. His emphasis was on eliminating flagrant interference with a writer's choice of subject matters and his style of exposition. The proposal was based on the premise of the importance of "governing." Comrade Zhou Yang came up with a suggestion that "governing through action" is better than "governing through inaction." Comrade Hu Qiaomu took exception to "governing through inaction" because it may lead to four different situations. The first one may be called "governing through inaction," the second one "neither action nor governing," the third one "governing through action" and finally "action without governing." While the best leadership "governs through action," "action without governing" implies arbitrary commands, messing up everything through action, or acting without achieving the objective of governing. But what is "governing through action"? I believe it means to strive to mobilize the enthusiasm and creativity of the writers and artists. But that is not enough. The mobilized enthusiasm ought to be channeled on the right track. Correct leadership implies the skill to mobilize and guide the enthusiasm of the writers and artists toward the correct direction and not the wrong path. That is what we mean by "governing through action." Comrade Hu Yanbang has said many times that we should help writers broaden their view of life, enrich their life experience and organize themselves to plan together for writing on certain specific subject matters. For instance, when too much was written about the antirightist campaign, the reading public expected some writers to get down to the frontline of the "Four Modernizations" and write about the new life, new people, new ideology and lifestyles on the industrial front. It is, therefore, perfectly proper to ask (though not to force) certain writers to live the new life with the masses to broaden their view of life, enrich their life experience, and keep pace with the ever-changing social conditions. In so far as this goes, we do not approve of either the principle of "determinate subject matters" or the theory of "the parity of subject matters." But what Comrade Hu Feng had advocated is in reality the theory of "the parity of subject matters" which appeared in a number of his writings. Regardless of the subjective intent of the writer, his advocacy of such a theory had had a negative impact on many young writers in the rear areas who were anxious to go to the frontline, or get behind the enemy line, or to share with the workers, peasants and soldiers their life of fiery struggle. At that time, there was a popular belief among certain writers: As long as one upholds realism, he would automatically realize Marxism. Since "one can experience life everywhere," why is it necessary to go to the frontline or Yenan, or to be with the workers, peasants and soldiers? We cannot say that such a belief is not related to the literary viewpoint advocated by Comrade Hu Feng and some of the publications which he ran. The preliminary draft of our textbook actually affirmed the view that "one can experience life everywhere." I do not think I am prepared to accept such an affirmation which at least is indiscreet and incomprehensible. Of course there are rational factors in Comrade Hu Feng's view of this issue.

However, instead of insulating them from the rest, we should consider them in conjunction with the historical, political and social background at the time he advanced this particular viewpoint. In so doing, people would naturally get the impression that at the time when the masses of writers and artists were rallying fervently around the "speech" and set to reach out for a new line of literature by joining the workers, peasants and soldiers, someone stepped out and said: You people didn't have to do that; one can experience life everywhere. This inevitably misled all promising writers and artists to believe that they could still turn out great works to reflect the conditions of that time without having to be with the workers, peasants and soldiers. The impact of such claims cannot but run counter to what Chairman Mao's "speech" had conveyed to the masses of the writers and artists.

In view of these complications, we should be extremely careful in presenting and commenting on the literary ideology of Comrade Hu Feng. It is better not to express any opinions unless we are sure. Try to avoid as much as possible the use of harsh and irritating language in the writing. It is unnecessary to include in the textbook anything which does not have any significant bearing on literary theories and creations. In spite of what Comrade Hu Feng and other comrades had done over the years in the interest of revolutionary literature, they have been victimized by political injustice and hardship for a long time. The most remarkable thing is that many comrades who have sustained attacks are still dedicated to the fatherland, the party, and the undertakings of the people. They are concerned and participate actively in whatever they can without complaining about what they have suffered. As an accomplished influential senior critic and an individual, Hu Feng deserves a place in the history of contemporary literature.

#### (4) The antirightist struggle of the literary and art circles.

I do not think I should dwell on the antirightist struggle of the literary and art circles because it has been accurately and properly presented in the preliminary draft of our textbook even though there are inaccurate and unscientific expressions still to be revised. The textbook draws two specific lessons from its summation of the antirightist struggle. I suggest we add one more, i.e. the error of expanding the antirightist struggle. It was the result of our habitual use of mass political movements and even class struggles to resolve the internal ideological and literary problems of the people which developed under new historical conditions. As attested by historical experience, violent mass movements could offer no solution to ideological, academic and literary problems. They intensify contradictions instead of resolving them. This is a painful lesson to learn.

The discussion of "realism--a wide open road" is in reality the continuation of the antirightist struggle. One of the subjects often discussed during the anti-Right struggle is how to understand correctly socialist realism, an issue which provoked intense struggles. A considerable number of comrades were harshly criticized and erroneously labelled as rightists for this particular issue. The more prominent ones were Comrades Qin Zhaoyang and Chen Yong as well as Comrade Feng Xuefeng. Although Comrade Ba Ren's dramatic treatises leave much to be desired, it is obviously unfair to label him a

representative of revisionism. Judging by today's standard, the views advanced by Comrade Qin Zhaoyang and some other comrades are still worth exploring. For instance, Comrade Qin Zhaoyang's suggestion to change the slogan of socialist realism to the realism of the socialist era was based in part on a proposal introduced at the second congress of Soviet writers. He was not its originator even though he elaborated on it, linking it to the Chinese literary creations and making it more systematic and convincing. Even so, we believe some of the views he presented in that article are still worth discussing in a normal academic atmosphere. Comrade Chen Yong wrote several articles on realism, and some of his views are original and profound. But both Comrades Qin Zhaoyang and Chen Yong were unjustly labeled "rightists." Comrade Qin Zhaoyang was labeled a rightist because several works branded "poisonous weeds" had been published under his editorship and because he had written this shocking article. Comrade Chen Yong was labeled a rightist for similar reasons, including the commentaries which he had written were unjustly accused as the mouthpiece of "revisionism." It seems some of the views condemned in those days as "revisionism" are entirely legitimate now. In a word, the issue of "realism--a wide open road" and other arguments and criticisms relating to literary ideology are in reality parts of the antirightist struggle in literary and art circles. They should be included in the part of the textbook on the antirightist struggle or immediately after it, and should not appear in a separate chapter unrelated to the antirightist struggle. That is the historical reality of that time.

#### (5) The drive "to combat and prevent revisionism" and the extension of the class struggle in the literary and art circles.

We used to say that those 17 years of ideological struggle fall into 5 different stages popularly known at that time as the "five big campaigns." The first one focused primarily on criticizing the "Wu Xun Zhuan" and the "Qinggong Mishu," but touched slightly on "Womenfufu Zhijian" and "Guan Lianzhang." The second one was a drive to criticize Yu Pingbo's studies of the "Hongloumeng" and the Hu Shi school of idealism in the academic circles. The third one was the anti-Hu Feng struggle and the fourth one the antirightist struggle. The division of these four stages has been widely accepted. The fifth round of struggle is known as the struggle "to combat and prevent revisionism." But what were the issues?

In 1962 the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee adopted a resolution reminding people "not to forget the class struggle" and "to wage it every year, every month and everyday." Driven by such an ideological line and program, a series of important struggles flared up in the literary, art, and ideological arenas. The international struggle to combat and prevent revisionism were also waged in China. To the literary and art circles, these were known as the struggles to combat and prevent revisionism on the literary and art front. What we used to call the "fifth campaign" was meant to cover these struggles and criticisms inspired by such a guiding ideology. Within a period of more than 3 years, the literary and art circles witnessed the extension of the worsening class struggles. For instance, the year 1962 saw the upsurge of a drive by the literary and art circles to criticize the "Salian Conference," the "intensification of realism," the "middle-of-the

readers," "the minimal effect of socialist transformation" achieved by the literary and art circles, and "those associations of the literary federation which had fallen so close to revisionism that they would become, if unchecked, organizations like the Petofi Club of Hungary." Following the dissemination and implementation of the "two written instructions" and a series of "supreme directives" concerning literature and art, ambitious conspirators such as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng began to poke their noses into literature and art, hoping to achieve a breakthrough in literature and art to enhance their counterrevolutionary cause aimed at usurping the party leadership and state power. These went on till the "prelude" of the "Great Cultural Revolution."

As this "leftist" guiding ideology began to take hold at the political and ideological fronts, the struggle in the literary and art circles inspired by this "leftist" guiding ideology became more and more violent. Of course there were still people in the literary and art circles who stood up in such an awesome situation to work out a more sensible policy. I should say Comrades Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and Chen Yi had played an admirable role at that time to uphold a correct position toward literature and art to curb the "leftist" ideological trend. Comrade Zhou Enlai was the first one to propose a readjustment of the policy toward literature and art. Thanks to his profound concern, the "Guangzhou Conference" and other conferences committed to the correct policy of the party toward literature and art were convened. The "Eight Articles on Literature and Art" of 1962 was drafted and circulated under the leadership of Comrade Zhou Enlai. Later, as suggested by Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhou Enlai, Comrades Zhou Yang, Shao Quanlin and Zhang Guanglian worked together and wrote a correct and timely editorial for the RENMIN RIBAO, entitled "Working for the Greatest Mass of People," in the hope of containing the serious consequences of the radical leftist ideology. It subsequently became known as the "theory of the whole people's literature and art," a major target of criticism by Jiang Qing. Now, it deserves to be treated as a leading article upholding the correct policy toward literature and art. But this was not enough then to resist the political pressure exerted by the resolution of the 10th Plenary Session of the Eighth CPC Central Committee reminding people "not to forget the class struggle" and that "class struggle always works." It was at this point that the conspirators, such as Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng began to poke their noses into literature and art, and attacked the correct views referred to above as a system of revisionism. This was followed by the notorious allegation of "the dictatorship of the black line of literature and art," which they tried at first to link to the Wang Ming line, and then to Zhou Yang and the so-called "group of four guys." Finally they simply called it Liu Shaoqi's "black line of literature and art." Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company were interested not so much in literature and art as in breaking through literature and art to usurp the party leadership and state power. The historical development of this particular period ought to be accounted for clearly. It would be difficult to understand the "Great Cultural Revolution" if this part of the history were not properly written, because there were unique historical reasons for its emergence. What are these reasons? As pointed out repeatedly by Yu Huiyong, Jiang Qing's loyal supporter, in his talks on the "model plays," every dramatic climax needs a staging ground, and Jiang Qing and company began in 1962 to work on getting the "staging ground" ready. Consequently, we may say that the intense

struggles in the literary and art circles between 1962 and 1966 were in reality the prelude of the "Great Cultural Revolution." If not for that prelude, the subsequent 10 years of turmoil might not have occurred at all. This part of history must be set down in no uncertain terms in the history of Chinese literature.

Going over the five rounds of struggles at the literary and art front since the founding of the PRC, we may say some of them were grounded on basically correct guiding ideology and sound reasoning; some were basically erroneous; some were correct at the beginning but subsequently lapsed, and some were grounded on essentially erroneous policies right from the beginning. This is especially true of the "fifth campaign" which covered a series of events since 1962, including the 1962 criticism campaign against "using fictions to oppose the party"; the attack on "the tales of kings, generals and bureaucrats" and "the romance of gifted scholars and beautiful women"; the issuance of the "two written instructions"; the drive to criticize the line of motion pictures by Xia Yan and Chen Huangmei; the attack on "the theory of the middle-of-the-roaders" and the "intensification of realism"; the attack on a number of motion pictures such as "Beiguo Jiangnan," "Linjia Puzi" and "Wutai Jiemei"; and the struggle between the two schools of ideology on literature and art centered on the Shanghai dramatic performance society. This struggle subsequently culminated in heated debates at 1964 Xingqiao Conference on the programs and policies for literature and art. So the Dalian Conference, the Guangzhou Conference and the Xingqiao Conference should all be described in the history of Chinese literature. The historical characteristics and background of each of these big struggles in the literary and art circles in the 17 years since the founding of the PRC are different even though they are inherently related. I think it is more scientific to group these struggles in 5 different stages. Our presentation of the first four stages is quite clear, but that of the fifth stage, probably the most important one, is not clear nor comprehensive enough.

The struggles "to combat and prevent revisionism" waged in the literary and art circles between 1962 and 1965 have not been coherently and comprehensively described in our textbook. This is a conspicuous drawback because if it was not for these struggles, the "Great Cultural Revolution" would not have taken place. We may say Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company had no choice but to take a radical leftist stand to wage these struggles to break through the literary, art and ideological front to usurp a part of the party leadership and state power. If we failed to present a clear picture of this particular period, there would be a blank space in the history of contemporary Chinese literature. If this period were represented only by the discussions and accounts of such issues as "human nature," "humanitarianism," "the middle-of-the-roaders," and "the intensification of realism," that would not be adequate enough to explain the substance and the totality of the problem. Only by describing the period fully in the light of historical reality would it be possible to help everybody comprehend the historical and ideological background of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and understand why the "Great Cultural Revolution" broke through the literary and art front first before spreading to other areas. The surfacing of "The Minutes of the Armed Forces Forum on Literature and Art" is an inevitable outcome of the violent struggles

of this particular period. Since then, China and the literature and art of China has sustained 10 years of turmoil during which literature and art were brutally trampled on. I should like to point out that we often make reference to "The Minutes of the Armed Forces Forum on Literature and Art." The correct way to cite it ought to read "The Minutes of the Armed Forces Forum on Literature and Art convened by Jiang Qing at the request of Lin Biao." This explains its true nature much better because it was not produced by a genuine armed forces forum but by a conspiratorial operation jointly run by Lin Biao and Jiang Qing.

## V. The Problem of Evaluating the Writers and Their Works

I only want to offer a few simple comments on this problem.

First, to evaluate a writer and his works, the first thing is to ascertain the role and place he himself and his works enjoy in the history of contemporary literature, what he himself and his works had done to reflect the life struggles and spirit of the times or contributed to the development of contemporary literature, and whether his works are genuine "beautiful literature." This concept was advanced by Lin Siji to denote literature of genuine aesthetic quality. Poetry and fiction must be poetry and fiction first before anything else. Since everything has its specific qualities, all literary works must be genuine works of art to claim any degree of artistic achievement. This is what artistic standards are for because what we are dealing with is works of art and nothing else. The claim that its political quality should rank above its artistic quality is of course not quite scientific nor accurate. When we evaluate literary works, we must find out whether they can stand public scrutiny and measure up to the standard based on the unity of history and aesthetics and the harmony of ideology and art. In view of this principle, I think the assessment of the roles and place in history of certain writers given in the preliminary draft of the textbook is inadequate and somewhat egalitarian. A history of contemporary literature ought to highlight the place in history enjoyed by certain important writers, such as Bajin, Laoshe, Zhao Shuli, Tian Han, Ding Ling, Cao Yu and Ai Qing. Even though some of them had stopped writing for some time for reasons known to all of us, the roles they played in the history of contemporary literature are so unique that they could never be duplicated. They are entitled to a place in the history of contemporary literature, and the part they played in the development of contemporary literature should be fully analyzed and reflected. As for those writers, including a considerable number of middle-aged ones who, due to various reasons, had not kept writing during the four periods, we should assess the situation as a whole and determine their place in history by the depth and extent of their contribution to the socialist literary undertaking and the part they played in the construction of the spiritual civilization and enrichment of the people's lives. In the case of the middle-aged and young writers who made their debut during the new era, we have to assess them from the viewpoint of history and aesthetics in order to determine what their roles and contributions are in the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization and the development of the socialist literary undertakings. We should analyze and reflect fully this new force in literature, including a fast growing number of woman writers.

Second, we should base our standard for assessing the writers and their works on the degree of ideological and artistic unity they achieve. By unity we mean relative unity. Being a thinker engaged in creative work, a gifted writer, as a rule, does not act as an isolated individual. His artistic activities are motivated by certain objectives. His motive and the impact of his creations often concur under normal conditions even though ideology and art, motive and impact might not coincide completely under certain conditions. I agree with Comrade Hu Qiaomu's analysis of this problem. There are cases where the impact of a writer's works, due to various subjective and objective factors, may not be as healthy as his motive. One cannot always expect to find outstanding works everywhere which represent the concurrence of motive and impact and a high degree of harmonized ideological and artistic perfection. Only those writers who produce such outstanding works deserve to be on the roster of the great. We must have a unified objective standard and an analytical approach based on truth derived from facts for the evaluation of writers and their works. Personally, I am not in favor of ranking politics and ideology above artistic qualities. Nevertheless, the influence of the works of a writer on society and their ideological, spiritual and cultural impact on people are extremely important and indispensable factors in considering our assessment of the success and quality of his works. In other words, social impact is an important criterion of the level of excellence of a writer's works. For this, we have to abide by the Marxist class theory which I do not think may be replaced by the theory of human nature. Now there is a popular view which stresses artistic innovations but overlooks or disregards the social and ideological implications of all literary works. Although I am not in favor of mechanical interpretations of the principle of ranking the political quality above the artistic quality of a literary creation, its social impact is still the most important factor to determine whether it enhances social development, raises the spiritual outlook of the people, enriches and satisfies the needs of the people's healthy cultural life. All outstanding literary works must possess both ideological and artistic qualities. We strive to pursue the unity of the historical and aesthetic viewpoints and the harmony of the ideological and artistic qualities, even though there are cases where such unity and harmony do not exist. However, any literary work which lacks artistic quality but is committed solely to the pursuit of political and ideological qualities, or flaunts its unique "artistic finesse" in spite of its poor ideological qualities is but a piece of lifeless spurious stuff. We must come up with proper evaluations of all such works which leave only a passing imprint on the history of literature.

Third, as we study the individual writers and their works, we must also pay attention to the social background and conditions of the emergence of certain literary phenomena which cannot be reflected by analysing only the individual writers. How do we explain the different phenomena which occur at different points of time? For instance, we know sometimes fictions flourished, sometimes expository literature gained ascendancy, sometimes short stories cropped up suddenly, and sometimes novels became the crowning feature of our literary undertaking. We have to understand and sum up the lessons to be drawn and laws to be derived from the rise and fall of such literary phenomena. Although the development of literature is bound to be affected by political and

economic factors, its flourishing in a country in a particular period of time does not move in lockstep with its economic prosperity. That is to say, a period of economic prosperity is not necessarily a period of literary flourishing. Otherwise, there is no way to explain why so many excellent novels and motion pictures turned up in those 3 years of dire hardship, and why many of the Chinese motion pictures which won international awards were produced at that time. There were times when the literature of China flourished during political and economic stagnation or even retrogression. What explanation do we have for such phenomena? Our textbook of literary history should explain it and sum up the pattern-forming experiences. Marx touched upon the problem, but did not offer a satisfactory answer. According to Marx, the development of the literature and art of a society is not always directly proportional to its economic life and economic foundation. The dramas of ancient Greece which possess "everlasting charm" as Marx noted, and which are still treasured by mankind, were produced when the Greek economy was poor and nonproductive. On the other hand, I am afraid it is invalid to claim the material production and literary production are inversely proportional. That means excellent literary works would emerge only when the economy of the state is depressed or otherwise troubled. That is a ridiculous view. The saying that "poverty spawns good poetry" refers to exceptional cases. It is alleged that people who live in luxury do not produce good literary works, and that Du Fu's great poetics works on the "imperial ministers" and the "separation from the loved ones" were done in time of extreme hardship and frustrations. This is only a literary phenomenon and not universal truth. The case of Bai Juyi was different. He composed excellent poems in time of success and in time of despair. As a matter of fact, the works Bai had done in his affluent retirement years were not that great. These phenomena do exist in the contemporary Chinese literature, and that is what we should dig into. I believe under normal conditions with a progressive class and a progressive party in power, the development of the spiritual civilization (of which literature is an important component) and that of the material civilization of a country at a given time ought to be directly proportional. It would be an exceptional phenomenon if it were not so. In a socialist country like China, the conditions are even more conducive to harmonious development of the two. Our literary history should work through the analysis of the writers and their works to propound the view that under the leadership of the party and the guidance of a correct line, the development of both the spiritual and the material civilization would proceed at an equal pace in the same direction, with the one motivating the other. As new production and construction are back on the right track under the Marxist line of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, both the material and the spiritual civilization have begun to flourish. The simultaneous development of the material and spiritual civilization in the same direction had actually occurred in the early 1950's. This may be illustrated by the success of the socialist transformation and the rapid development of the socialist literature and art at that time.

The schools and groupings of the writers are very important issues in the development of contemporary literature. The appearance of the schools and groupings of the writers is an undeniable objective literary phenomenon, which we should study and analyze. But they are complicated literary

phenomena which emerge when literary development reaches a certain level and dimension. Although we must pay close attention to them, we must not create them, nor unduly exaggerate their influence and the roles they play. First of all, we should support and recognize the schools of writers. In the second place, there must be strict criteria to identify them, and we must not arbitrarily create them. Consequently, I do not agree with the schools identified in the preliminary draft of the textbook, such as the "Baiyangding" school, the "Shanyaodan" school, and the "Chazihua" school, because the identification lacks creditability.

There has been a noteworthy literary phenomenon since the founding of the PRC. That is, we have witnessed in different places and at different intervals the emergence of groups of successful creative writers who form the backbone of our literary undertakings, at various stages. Why did a group of excellent playwrights, such as Shen Ximeng and Liu Chuanfang, get established in the Nanjing Military Region? Why did hundreds of excellent works on the struggles of the minority nationalities and the people of the frontier regions crop up by the 1950's at the southwestern and Tibetan frontiers? Many of these works, by today's standard, are entitled to a place in the history of contemporary literature. The voluminous works written during the anti-America aid-Korea war are still high caliber Chinese military literature. In the 1950's there was a group Nanjing known as "the explorers" represented by Fang Zhi, Lu Wenfu and Gao Xiaosheng. Working as a group, they wrote a number of excellent works. In the 1950's and 1960's a group of brilliant playwrights in Xi'an and Lanzhou were able to win the praise of the masses at a joint premier performance of their stage plays. How do we account for the sudden appearance of so many excellent writers and works in those remote border regions? The rapid development of poetry and song writing in the 1950's and 1960's have helped a group of poets come to the fore. These poets led by Guo Xiaochuan, He Jinzhi, Li Ji and Wen Jie have succeeded in carrying the poetry of that time to a new height. How do we explain such a literary phenomenon? These literary phenomena should be reflected and analyzed in the history of Chinese literature. It is not enough to include them in an exclusive chapter or section on individual writers.

Finally, I wish to emphasize the principle of seeking truth from facts and one divides into two. Our attitude toward a writer and his works, including the more successful ones, should be strict, truthful and impartial. All undeserved praises, inflated descriptions and unconditional commendations should be avoided. I am told that many writers have submitted, during the compilation of this textbook, correct and not-so-correct comments on their own works and accomplishments. I suggest we accept the correct comments but avoid unprincipled accommodation of any incorrect comments to please a comrade who holds on to his own views. We must be forthright enough "to call a spade a spade." It is wrong to turn a demerit into a merit or treat a flaw as a consummate beauty. We must have our independent judgment. I felt a bit disturbed when I read the letters of some writers. I really appreciate the attitude of Comrade Ouyang Shan and several others who said in their letters that they respect the right of the critics to pass judgments. That indeed is a praiseworthy attitude. In a word, our attitude toward all the writers and their works which we write about should be strict, scientific and truthful. We must

abide by the principle of one divides into two and avoid unprincipled praises and unrealistic nitpicking. All the shortcomings we spotted should be pointed out fearlessly in accordance with the scientific standard of evaluation. We need to apply "the righteousness demonstrated in 'The Spring-Autumn Annals'" and "the straightforwardness in the writings of Dong Hu" to our pursuit of truth without sparing personal feelings. I am sorry our textbook has not done very well in this particular area. There are still undeserved praises of one kind or another in the description of a number of outstanding writers, such as Comrades Yang Suo and Qin Mu. Zhao Shuli is an established writer, but we have said very little about the shortcomings in his creations, especially the most recent ones. As a matter of fact, he has deliberately avoided contradictions in his writings since 1957. Comrade Sun Li has commented on this, and I think he is right. To bring truth out of facts, we should apply the principle of one divides into two even to a writer as distinguished as Zhao Shuli. I realize it is difficult sometimes to eliminate undeserved praises and biased views in our commentaries, but we must strive to avoid them when we compile a history of literature.

16 July 1982.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

HUBEI ON MARX DEATH--A Hubei provincial academic discussion meeting to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx was convened in Wuchang on 12 March. Provincial CPC committee secretaries Guan Guangfu and Huang Zhizhen, deputy secretary Qian Yunlu, and Vice Governor Liang Shufen attended. Qian Yunlu made a speech. This meeting is a major review of the results of Marxist studies in Hubei. Some 300 people concerned from all parts of the province are attending. Over 130 these have been received. Comrade Qian Yunlu said in his speech: "The sole correct attitude toward Marxism is to uphold and develop. Upholding means upholding the basic principles of Marxism amid the two-front struggle against leftist and rightist mistakes. Developing means following the basic principles of Marxism to study the new situations and solve new problems. Our aim in commemorating Marx is to create a new situation in socialist construction, run affairs in Hubei well and make still greater contributions to the whole country. The practical and theoretical workers in all trades and sectors of the province must study and research Marxism, and be resolute in carrying out reforms and bold in pioneering. We must integrate the truth of Marxism with our concrete reality and follow our own road to build a socialism with Chinese characteristics. The intellectuals in the province, including social science workers, must strive to make still greater efforts and contri' . The meeting has been convened by the propaganda department, culture and education department, and party school of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial social science institute, and the provincial federation of social science associations. Propaganda department director Jiao Dexiu presided at the meeting. [HK130345 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Mar 83]

GUIZHOU LEADERS ATTEND EXHIBITION--An exhibition on the life of Karl Marx opened at the Provincial Museum this morning. The opening ceremony was attended by responsible persons of the provincial CPC committee, people's government, people's congress Standing Committee and CPPCC including Chi Biqing, (Zhu Houde), Miao Chunting, and Zhang Yuhuan, and provincial military district adviser Zhang Liang. [HK150154 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Mar 83]

GUIZHOU EDUCATIONAL REFORM CONFERENCE--The Guizhou provincial conference on educational reform in rural areas emphatically pointed out that it is necessary to regard educational reform in rural areas as an important work of educational

reform as a whole. It is essential to reform general education to meet the needs of modernization in the province. The conference was held by the provincial education department from 21-23 February. It is imperative to mobilize and rely on teachers to establish the personal responsibility system to arouse their enthusiasm. [HK031458 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Feb 83 HK]

FUJIAN FAMILY PLANNING--Under the impact of stepped up activities in the promotion of family planning, more than 309,000 people in Fujian Province had undertaken birth control methods by the end of January. In the past, the province's population increased at the rate of 400,000 per year. With the relatively scarce arable land, the population growth has impeded the province's progress and an improvement in the people's livelihood. [Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 12 Feb 83 OW]

JIANGSU BIRTH CONTROL--Jiangsu Province achieved remarkable results in developing the "family planning propaganda month" campaign during the period from new year's day to the Spring Festival. The province formed 75,000 propaganda groups, composed of 140,000 members. Some were leading party and government cadres. Some 17,000 medical workers performed contraceptive operations for 454,000 people. [Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 23 Feb 83 OW]

SICHUAN LITERATURE, ART SUCCESSES--According to SICHUAN RIBAO, the propaganda departments of the Sichuan Provincial and Chengdu City CPC Committees held a tea party on 17 March to congratulate literature and art circles in the province on their good start in creating a new situation. Leading comrades of the province and city including Ta Qilong, Yang Xizong, He Haoju, Ren Baige and Mao Shitu attended the function. "They hoped the comrades in literature and art circles would do still better in studying and grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the Central Committee's principles and policies, uphold the four basic principles and maintain political unity with the Central Committee." [HK180301 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Mar 83]

MARX CENTENARY SOIREE--The propaganda department and party school of the provincial CPC committee, the provincial social science research institute and other units held a literature and art soiree on 13 March to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. Responsible comrades of the provincial CPC committee Yang Rudai and Nie Ronggui attended the function. [HK140314 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 Mar 83]

SICHUAN TEACHER MALTREATMENT--A leading comrade of the province recently pointed out: the party, government and judicial departments at all levels must take effective steps to resolutely curb the bad practice of insulting and beating up schoolteachers. It is necessary to maintain normal teaching order in the schools. No unit or individual is allowed to seize or damage school property. Government leaders must personally get to work to solve school property problems left over from the past. [Text] [HK130606 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Mar 83]

SICHUAN'S YANG RUDAI SPEAKS--Representatives of all sectors in Sichuan convened a meeting on 12 March to mark the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. Provincial CPC committee deputy secretary Nie Ronggui presided and made the opening speech. Provincial CPC committee secretary Yang Rudai made a report entitled: Hold Aloft the Great Banner of Marxism and Surge Ahead Victoriously. Comrade Yang Rudai said: "The historical experience of the international communist movement has shown that the party's leaders and backbone leadership must have a relatively high standard of Marxism as well as organizational ability and work experience. They must also have relatively all-round knowledge of science, culture and professional matters in order to be able to correctly analyze and handle all kinds of theoretical and practical problems. We must run cadre schools of all types, organize well theoretical and cultural studies for in-service cadres, and make cadre education regular, frequent and systematic. We must vigorously change the prejudices and ignorant and backward notions of despising knowledge, education, science and intellectuals. We must attach importance to knowledge and intellectuals. We must attach importance to both natural and social science." [HK130618 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 12 Mar 83]

SICHUAN SANITATION DRIVE--Yesterday, Sichuan provincial and Chengdu city leaders Yang Rudai, Wang Chenghan and Yang Xizong took part in a sanitation drive which involved 300,000 people from all walks of life, including personnel in government organs, PLA soldiers and school pupils. They cleaned rubbish in parks and other public places in order to make Chengdu City more beautiful. [HK060824 Chengdu Sichuan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 5 Mar 83]

GUANGDONG MARX EXHIBITION--An exhibition on the life of Karl Marx opened at the provincial museum this morning. The opening ceremony was attended by comrades Ren Zhongyi, Lin Ruo, Li Jianzhen, Wang De, Yin Linping, Kou Qingyan, Xie Fei, Wang Ning, Ye Chenghai, Yang Yingbin, Chen Yueping, Du Ruizhi, Lin Botang, Song Zhiying, Ou Mengjue, Huang Youmou, Yun Guangying, Zhu Yuehua, Shan Yinzhang, Peng Jiaqing, Jiang Lindong, Deng Yifan, Xiao Yuanli, Xiong Fei, and Xu Shijie, together with over 500 of the masses and PLA personnel. [HK150131 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 14 Mar 83]

YUNNAN TREE PLANTING--Over 10,000 people in the Kunming area took part in planting trees today, Arbor Day. Leading comrades of the party and government in the province An Pingsheng, Liu Minghui, Gao Zhiguo, Dang Xiangmin, Dao Guodong, Ma Wendong, Meng Qi and Qi Shan; leading comrades of the Kunming PLA units Zhang Zhixiu, Huang Demao, He Bohua, Chen Jiagui, Shi Jingban and Cui Jiangong; and leading comrades of Kunming City Li Yuan, He Bo and Zhu Kui, took part in this activity. Provincial CPC committee first secretary An Pingsheng and Governor Liu Minghui spoke to reporters, stressing the importance of carrying out afforestation in a thoroughly sound way. [HK130657 Kunming Yunnan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Mar 83]

SHANDONG POPULATION GROWTH--The Shandong provincial family planning work conference ended on 10 March. The conference relayed the guidelines of the national experience-exchange conference of family planning propaganda month activities. In 1982, our province did a good job in birth control. The natural population growth rate of the province in 1982 was 10.95 per thousand. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 10 Mar 83 SK]

'LU XUN STUDIES' PUBLISHED--Beijing, 7 Mar (XINHUA)--The LU XUN STUDIES, a journal of the China Society of Lu Xun Studies, has been changed from a book series to a bimonthly this year. The first issue of the revamped journal has come off the press. The new journal, LU XUN STUDIES, will strive to make comprehensive studies on Lu Xun's works and life from the literary, philosophical, historical, sociological, psychological and other angles. In addition to publishing new results and new historical materials from Lu Xun Studies, the journal also features such columns as "Contemporary Writers on Lu Xun," "Carry Forward Lu Xun's Spirit," "Lu Xun Studies Abroad," "Zhen Ming Yuan Di [Space for Contention]," "Scholars Interviewed," "Appreciation of Lu Xun's Works," "Educational Research on Lu Xun" and "Articles Contributed by Young People." [Text] [OW070456 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0006 GMT 7 Mar 83]

CHANGCHUN PRIMARY SCHOOL--In order to alleviate the students' schoolwork burden and improve education quality, Changchun City decided that all primary schools in the urban areas will implement the 6-year school system. At present, the change of school system has started in all the schools in the urban areas. The 6-year school system will be applied to students who will be of the first, second, third and fourth grades in the new school year, two-thirds of the present fourth graders, who will become fifth graders in the new school year, will become students under the 6-year school system. Two-thirds of the present fifth graders will graduate this summer. [Text] [SK070517 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 6 Mar 83]

HUNAN UNIVERSITIES CORRESPONDENCE COURSES--On 6 March, the provincial education department made public that with approval of the Ministry of Education, 21 universities and colleges in the province would give correspondence courses and run evening schools. The 12 universities and colleges are: Hunan University, Zhongnan Mining Industry College, Changsha Railway Industry College, Hunan Medical College, Xiangtan University, Jishou University, Hunan Agricultural Science College, Hunan Traditional Chinese Medical Science College, Hunan Teachers' College, Hengyang Teachers' School, Xiangtan Teachers' School and Changde Teachers' School. The notice of the Ministry of Education pointed out that the correspondence courses and evening schools offered by all these universities and colleges have been brought into line with the recruitment plan for correspondence courses and evening schools offered by universities and colleges of all provinces and municipalities, and all ministries and departments under the State Council. After finishing learning all courses as stipulated by teaching plan and passing the final examination, all students will be given graduation certificates and their academic qualification will be recognized. [Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 2310 GMT 7 Mar 83 HK]

JIANGXI POSTGRADUATE EXAMINATION--The nationwide unified entrance examinations for postgraduate studies for master's degree begin on 26 February. In Jiangxi, 3,027 applicants are taking the examination at 10 locations. The applicants include 882 scientists and technicians, 140 college teachers, 436 middle school teachers, 1,126 graduating college students and 443 others. [Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 26 Feb 83 OW]

FOREIGN PROFESSORS--According to a report in ANHUI RIBAO, Professor Chao-chung Ti of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States, professor and director (Russmeier) of the Nuclear Physics Institute at (Aachen) University of Technology in West Germany, professor and head (Fubel) of the Department of High-Energy and Nuclear Physics at Zurich University in Switzerland, and their party visited the China University of Science and Technology from 4 to 7 March at the invitation of the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Professor Chao-chung Ting is a world-renowned experimental physicist, who won the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1976. He has paid keen attention to the development of science and technology given lectures in China many times, and recruited and trained students to study abroad, thereby contributing to the development of high-energy undertakings in China. The purpose of his current visit is mainly to recruit young students, who are keenly interested in high-energy experimental physics, to study and work abroad. Zhou Zijian, acting first secretary of the Anhui Provincial CPC Committee and governor, met and gave a dinner for Professor Ting and his party at (Daojianglou) Guest House on the evening of 6 March. Present were Vice Governor Yang Jike, director (Zhao Qinghao) and deputy director (Fang Zhiming) of the provincial foreign liaison office, and vice presidents Qian Linzhao and Bao Zhongmou of the China University of Science and Technology. [Excerpts] [OW110653 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 9 Mar 83]

SHANGHAI ADVANCED WOMEN WORKERS--Shanghai, 7 Mar (XINHUA)--At a meeting held by Shanghai Municipality today to mark the "8 March" International Working Women's Day, 2,045 "8 March" red-banner pacesetters, 218 "8 March" red-banner collectives and 1,638 "five-good" families that emerged in Shanghai in 1982 were commended. Present at today's meeting were Chen Guodong, first secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee; Hu Lijiao, second secretary of the municipal CPC committee; and Wang Daohan, mayor of Shanghai. They awarded prizes to the representatives of the "8 March" red-banner pacesetters, "8 March" red-banner collectives and "five-good" families. Also present at the meeting were more than 5,000 women of all walks of life in Shanghai. About 70 percent of the 1982 "8 March" pacesetters and "9 March" red-banner collectives of Shanghai are newly emerged. Engineers, technicians and other intellectuals account for a considerable proportion of the "8 March" red-banner pacesetters. Some leading cadres' families have been selected as "five-good" families and the names of those cadres and their wives are on the honor roll of Shanghai's 1982 "five-good" families. They include Zhang Chengzhong, vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress; Zhao Zukang, vice mayor of Shanghai; and Yan Dongsheng, vice president of the Chinese Academy of the Sciences, who resides in Shanghai. [Lu Guoyuan, Wu Mingfei] [Text] [OW101251 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1610 GMT 7 Mar 83]

CHANGCHUN DRAMA PERFORMANCE--On the evening of 4 March, leading comrades of the provincial and Changchun City party and government organs, including Qiang Xiaochu Wang Daren, Liu Jingzhi, Xiao Cun and Liu Yunzhao, attended the performance of the eight-scene drama entitled "Huang-gu-tun Feng-yun-lu" [The Huanggutun Accident], which was presented by the Changchun City Drama Institute. The story of the drama reflects General Zhang Xuiliang and his patriotic staff who bravely fought against Japanese aggressors and their stooges in order to safeguard the country's independence. The drama's 117 successful performances in the cities of Shenyang

and Changchun have been well received by an audience of more than 100,000. After last evening's show, leading comrades of the provincial and Changchun City party and government organs went up on the stage to extend greetings for the excellent performance and had a souvenir photograph taken with the cast. [Text] [SK050856 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Mar 83]

LIAONING EDUCATIONAL SEMINAR--A seminar sponsored by the Liaoning Provincial Higher Educational Association pointed out that universities and secondary vocational schools throughout the province should foster 1.34 million scientific and technical personnel by the end of this century. [Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 4 Mar 83 SK]

ANHUI SPORTS MEETING--The Provincial Physical Culture and Sports Commission held a meeting at the provincial gymnasium on 2 March to commend the province's outstanding athletes and coaches who have performed well in major international and domestic competitions in 1982. At the meeting, the leading party and government comrades of Anhui Province and Hefei City Zhou Zijian, Yan Youmin, Yuan Zhen, Zhang Kaifan, Li Guangtao, Zhao Kai, Wei Xinyi and (Ge Yuping) each presented certificates of merit and cash awards to 72 athletes and coaches and one collective that had won honor. [Excerpts] [OW051136 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Mar 83]

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### ZHONGNANHAI REFORM TREND DISCUSSED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 64, Feb 83 pp 12-13

[Article by Lo Ping [5012 0393]: "The Reform Trend of Zhongnanhai"]

[Text] Should anyone ask me what kind of a year to the CPC is 1983, I would say unhesitatingly that it is a year for the reformists to "display their dexterity."

The reformists made up their minds to carry out reforms several years ago. However, because of the interference of the whatever and ultra-leftist factions, and also because of the yet uncompleted task of bringing order out of chaos in the guiding ideology of the CPC, they were unable to pursue the reforms in full scale. Nevertheless, after the "purge" in the high level lasting from the 6th Plenary Session to the 12th Party Congress, Deng and Hu now have a free hand to proceed.

What is reform? In the words of Deng and Hu, it is to break down the old and bring forth the new; it is to eradicate the obsolete frameworks in all areas, all branches and all units; it is to carry out structural, system and economic reforms , and reforms in other aspects.

#### Hu Yaobang's Internal Speech

Recently, Hu Yaobang gave an internal speech on the reform issue. An important speech made on 11 December 1982 at the national provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committee secretaries' forum, it covers mainly the following four points:

1. There must be progress in the work in 1983. Hu Yaobang urged concentration on two items: The first is to complete the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional reorganization and reform work, reorganizing the enterprises, reforming the systems and improving the style. The second is to endeavor to keep the national combined economic level from dropping below that of 1982.

2. Provincial, municipal and autonomous regional reorganization must be firmly carried out in an orderly manner according to the arrangements of the central government. Structural simplification is a revolution, and must be carried out step by step to avoid confusion. The existence of a strong resistance must be recognized. He particularly proposed that, in the course of reform, those possessing both ability and integrity be boldly promoted to important posts. He urged that at least one-third of those joining organs of the provincial level and one-half of those joining organs of the municipal level in 1983 be of senior middle or college level. Structural simplification was originally scheduled for completion in April 1983, but now it may be extended to September.

3. Economic work must be concrete, giving special attention to the 1983 plans and the 6th 5-Year Plan. The economic reform on the agricultural front must attain the "three-satisfaction," satisfying the state, the collective and the individual. He proposed a new idea on funds: Fund raising is not limited to the renminbi; surplus labor and intelligence also constitute funds.

4. A greater attention must be paid to the leadership method.

Hu Yaobang's speech can be called an important "mobilization report." Allegedly he will make a longer mobilization report a few days hence at the national staff and workers' ideological-political work conference. (According to XINHUA PRESS, Beijing, 20 January, he made the report on 20 January).

It appears that the whirlwind of reform will swell the sail of China in 1983.

#### Is It Restoration of Capitalism?

In fact, the structural and economic system reforms were started before this. The responsibility system introduced in agriculture which broke the framework of the people's commune, for instance, was a sort of reform. The assignment system created by the Chinese peasants, viz., the system of contracted responsibility linked with output, different from both the large-pot-rice practice and the individual economy, has been introduced in more than 70 percent of the rural areas throughout the country. As proved by practice, it has brought vitality to the rural villages. The new contract and wage systems trial introduced in industries are also measures to break down the large-pot-rice practice and the iron rice bowl and to implement the principle of more work more pay, thereby raising production and improving the economic benefit. Besides agriculture and industry, the responsibility system will be introduced in other branches, such as organs, and the wage systems in the literary and artistic field, theatrical troupes and for writers and painters will be reformed one after another.

While in Beijing, I heard the remark that Deng and Hu's reforms were a restoration of capitalism. I sought enlightenment from some friends in the field of culture.

#### Two-Layer View of the Issue

They said: Whether the reforms are a capitalist restoration is easy to answer to start with. The criterion is whether the public ownership of production means is upheld and whether the state-owned economy remains the main sector of the national economy. Nonetheless, there is a deeper layer calling for study and exploration: Whether a part of the value created by the workers and peasants is eaten up mouthful by mouthful by bureaucratic prerogatives. If China has no privileged bureaucratic stratum, then the introduction of Hu-type reforms and the various forms of responsibility systems will benefit the state and the people, and the issue of a capitalist restoration will not arise. Otherwise, naturally the issue will exist.

I am in full agreement with this view.

#### Leftwing Generals Stepped Down

My friend said that the "leftwing" ideology and the "leftwing" influence remain the toughest resistance to reform.

The mentioning of "leftwing" and "resistance" shifted the subject of conversation to anti-"leftism."

My friend said that the previous group of the PLA General Political Department was very leftwing. Besides Wei Guoqing [7279 0948 3237], the director, there was also a "leftwing" deputy director--General Liang [2733], a multiterm member of the Party Central Committee. His history in the General Political Department was not short, nor the mistakes made by him inconsiderable. Today, Wei Guoqing has been removed from the department and Liang has also stepped down. When there is an opportunity, I will make a detailed report to my readers on the relevant conditions.

Nevertheless, "the reforms have not been completed, and anti-'leftism' requires a continued effort." Whether in the army or in local party organs, "leftwing" influence remains not insignificant. The combat against "leftism" is indeed necessary and needs to be persevered in and carried through.

#### Political Restraint Remains

While combating "leftism," there should be liberalization in politics, i.e., introducing political reforms, reforming the undemocratic system and the practice of one man's words. Compared with the time of the Cultural Revolution, today's political atmosphere is fairly animated. Nevertheless, the initiative of the masses to supervise the cadres has not

been activated. Why? Because, instead of becoming more and more liberal in politics, it is restraint after a spell of liberalization. The recent ouster of Liu Baiyu [0491 4101 5038] and Huang Gang [7806 6921], the leftwing chiefs in the field of literature who specialized in wielding the club, gave those in literature and art in Beijing and throughout the country a breathing spell. Nonetheless, it was merely a glimpse of springtime. Before long the papers published Hu Yaobang's speech on ideological-political work, and everyone again sensed the arrival of restraint.

The actual conditions at present seem to be stressing only economic reform, while politically, it is limited to structural reform. As for the reform of the political system, it appears not to have been included on the daily agenda.

#### Hong Kong's CPPCC Member Hit the Mark by His Comment

One well-known illustration is the statements made at the fifth meeting of the Fifth NPC: What were published in the papers were very cursory and brief, without inquiry or objection. There were representatives from Hong Kong, but the people of Hong Kong had no detailed information of what their delegates to the NPC and the CPPCC said. The statements of some delegates were never published, leaving everyone in the dark. When the people do not know what their representatives said at the NPC meetings, isn't it a big mockery of democracy and the constitutional spirit?

Li Tzusung [2621 1311 6139], chief of Hong Kong's WEN HUI PAO, made an apt comment some months ago while in Beijing as a CPPCC member. He said: The proposals made by the CPPCC in the past were like stones dropped into the ocean, without an echo. These words laid bare just what the so-called people's democracy and supervision of cadres are.

#### "To Be Lawless Is Lawful"

As it is impossible to introduce democracy, many cadres boldly commit all kinds of outrages.

When a transformer was destroyed by fire in a Shanxi plant, the plant leader asked a certain labor model to pay for it or to be punished. The case went to the public security bureau, but the bureau refused to handle it because of insufficient evidence. Disregarding the law, the plant leader arbitrarily dismissed the labor model, cancelled his residence registration and grain relations and blacklisted him. The masses were very dissatisfied with this little tyrant, and someone wrote a couplet:

"The affairs of the universe are unsettled. Might as well settle them by leaving them unsettled."

"Those beyond the world have no certain law. To be lawless is lawful."

Not just in Shanxi, but the phenomenon of "to be lawless is lawful" is also found in Shandong and all areas throughout the country and fairly universal and grave. One NPC delegate by the name of Zhang Xiongwen [1728 7160 2429] remarked: "Every leading cadre should post this reminder in his room: 'Do I obey the constitution? Have I violated the constitution?'"

#### A 'Norrisome Issue'

The fragile democracy and legal system make it impossible to effectively budge the foundation of bureaucratic prerogatives and to completely eliminate the potential toward capitalism. Once the issue is utilized by the ultra-leftwing influence, the stability of the overall situation will become a matter of concern.

People hope that the reformists in Zhongnanhai will carefully and comprehensively ponder the issues which have a chain relationship with reform.

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## HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

### PROSPECTS FOR HONG KONG AFTER PRC TAKEBACK VIEWED

Hong Kong CHI-SHIH NIEN-TAI /THE SEVENTIES/ in Chinese No 2, Feb 83 pp 10-12

/Article by Qi Xin /7841 6850/ in "Hong Kong Special Column": "New Developments in 'Question of '97'"

/Text/ As Hong Kong stepped into 1983, Hong Kong's "'97 Puzzle" also entered another stage. The characteristics of this stage are: the panic of the people in Hong Kong that the Chinese communists would regain sovereignty over Hong Kong has been alleviated; the Chinese communists have begun to admit that there are some realities about Hong Kong that displease them; the principle of "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" has been echoed by some of the new generation of intellectuals who are concerned about society; a response opposite to the principle of "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" is the putting forward of the so-called "three-legged stool" principle under which China, Britain, and Hong Kong would maintain Hong Kong's stability and prosperity; and, in addition, what has gone on in Chinese-British high-level negotiations and related behind-the-scenes talks have gradually leaked out through some channels.

### Innter Story of Summit Negotiations

Here I will talk about the inside story of the Chinese-British negotiations.

The story is going around that in September of last year, during summit talks between Deng Xiaoping and Mrs Thatcher, there were three sharp dialogues in which neither side would give in: 1. Mrs Thatcher put forward the proposition that if the problem of Hong Kong's future were not solved well, there would be diaastrous consequences. Deng Xiaoping replied by saying that he did not think there would be disastrous consequences, and even if there were, the Chinese people would be willing to face them. 2. Mrs Thatcher said that much of the external world thinks that if Hong Kong is to maintain its prosperity and stability it is necessary that the British stay there. Deng Xiaoping replied by saying that he does not deny Britain's role; otherwise, he would not be talking with Britain about the Hong Kong problem. But, he said, there are many factors accounting for Hong Kong's prosperity, including the industriousness of the Hong Kong compatriots and the support of the motherland. 3. Mrs Thatcher said that the maintaining of Hong Kong's political status is one of the necessary conditions for China's successful

modernization. Deng Xiaoping replied by saying that if we were to place the success or failure of China's modernization drive on the condition of maintaining Hong Kong's status, we would be fools.

It is said that because the positions of the two sides were in opposition in these three dialogues the discussions have become antagonistic. This has also affected their public expression of view. For example, Mrs Thatcher has stressed the validity of the three treaties, expressing the view that Britain "has a moral and just responsibility toward the people of Hong Kong." Besides denouncing Thatcher's views, the Chinese communists have even more equivocally stated that the sovereignty over the power of governing Hong Kong will be taken back by them in 1977, and "possibly before then." Even more revealing was that a procommunist publication stated that the "taking of drastic measures is not ruled out." The January 1983 issue of this publication quoted a "high-level personage" as saying: "Even if the vegetable sponge used to beat the dog is half cut through, the dog must be beaten." These intimidating words did not frighten the British, but they frightened the people of Hong Kong. Last year's sharp drop in the stock market, outflow of capital, and brisk activity in foreign investment and emigration were all related to this fear. The people's confidence in Hong Kong was becoming more and more ephemeral.

Viewed from China's interests, this kind of moody reaction not only does not help solve the problem, but on the contrary, at a time when the taking back of sovereignty is still a long way off, it greatly harms China's economic interests in Hong Kong, and makes the Chinese communists in the public opinion of society (including the people's oral discussions) even more an object of criticism and even excoriation.

#### Change in the Chinese Communists' Propaganda Tactics

I don't know whether it was because there had been censorship of the Chinese communists leaders' conversations and the leftist publications' propaganda, but since the end of December last year the Chinese communist leaders have relaxed the way they reveal to some visitors "briefings" intended for foreign consumption. Contrarily, in the leftist newspapers, it is beginning to be reported that after the Chinese communists brought up the "taking back of sovereignty," there were some anxieties on the part of the people of Hong Kong.

Among them are some views worth noting. First, it has been affirmed that Hong Kong will not be taken back before 1997. This is what Zhao Ziyang on 9 December told Hu Ying-hsiang and Cheng Yu-tung, prominent men in Hong Kong's business circles. It is understood that Li Jusheng, director of the XINHUA Office in Hong Kong, and Ren Zhongyi, first secretary of the Guangdong Provincial CPC Committee, said the same thing to prosperous merchants in Hong Kong around that time. However, Li Mingze, in an interview granted to ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL, acknowledged that Liao Chengzhi had said: "China will take back its sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997, at the latest." However, Li Mingze also stated, "Regardless of what recommendations Chinese officials make, they must be carried out (negotiated) with Britain and must be approved by the NPC Standing Committee before they will stand."

Obviously, it is not very likely that China will take back its sovereignty before 1997, and one factor in this is that if Britain insists that the terms of the treaties be honored, China will not use military force and will only be able to take back sovereignty in 1997.

Second, the complete text of Li Mingze's 28 December interview with ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL was translated and published in the 29 December issue of Hong Kong's TA KUNG PAO. Some of the questions asked by the reporters were provocative and even critical of the Chinese communists, and they were not abridged by TA KUNG PAO, which shows that this leftist newspaper is facing reality, as compared with the past, with regard to the 1997 question. On 9 January of this year, TA KUNG PAO published a special article expressing "five fears" that the people of Hong Kong have about the period after sovereignty is taken back: 1) fear that the living standard will fall; 2) fear that property will be harmed; 3) fear that there will be political movements; 4) fear that there will be a loss of "freedom"; and 5) fear that their way of life will change. With regard to these "five fears," the people want Beijing to guarantee that there will be "five no-changes."

Third, in his interview Li Mingze made three points worthy of attention:  
1. He said, the Chinese leaders (after 1977) "will only have sovereignty over Hong Kong. What the precise meaning of this sovereignty will be depends on the individual's interpretation. I don't wish to make wild guesses." This sentence means: "taking back sovereignty" is still subject to different interpretations. 2. He indicated that, except for having obtained unanimity of opinion on the sovereignty question, the Chinese leaders have not decided what their general idea for Hong Kong's prospects will be. And "even if there is an initial rough idea, they must also make arrangements with Britain beforehand." 3. He indicated that after China takes back sovereignty over Hong Kong, "it will not interfere in Hong Kong's internal affairs." "If they do interfere, Hong Kong will be finished."

It is understood that the dimensions of the Chinese communists' propaganda changed and became fairly realistic because of two internal "directives" issued by the top layer of the Chinese communist leadership:

"More coverage may be given to the fact that the power of the initiative with regard to the question of Hong Kong's future rests with us."

"We must unite with and win over the majority, not only uniting with people who endorse 'taking back sovereignty' but also winning over people who only endorse 'maintaining prosperity.'"

After the coverage and propaganda stopped being in a mood of exaggeration and intimidation and changed to a mood of being fairly able to face reality, the panic of Hong Kong society about the Chinese communists' "taking back sovereignty" was alleviated. Spurred by peripheral stock markets, the Hong Kong stock market entered 1983 with a slight upturn, and people's confidence also became almost as stable as it was before.

### Echo of "Hong Kong People Rule Hong Kong"

After the Chinese communist leaders last year put forward the proposition "taking back sovereignty and maintaining prosperity," afterward supplementing it with the proposition "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong, with the guarantee that the existing system will not be changed," the greater part of the people of Hong Kong contracted the "fear-of-97 disease," but there are some new representatives of intellectuals concerned about Hong Kong's social progress who think that the two propositions are both a method for thoroughly solving the problem of Hong Kong's future and a good opportunity for giving the Hong Kong people political representation and for putting into practice democracy and autonomy. Therefore, "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong," besides being vigorously called for by the mouthpieces of the Chinese communists, has been echoed by some members of the new generation of intellectuals. One fairly spectacular echo was that a young intellectual set up on 9 January an organization called "Point of Convergence" and issued a statement entitled "Our Proposals for Hong Kong's Future," which endorsed the principles of taking back sovereignty, maintaining prosperity, and Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong, and which made specific proposals with regard to the political, economic, social, and legal aspects of these principles.

The leftist newspapers reported in detail the founding of "Point of Convergence" and published the full text of its statement of proposals, and even wrote commentaries expressing admiration for them.

Besides being fairly clear about its position of endorsing the principle of "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong," the statement of proposals put out by "Point of Convergence" contains specific proposals which in many places await clarification and inquiry, and I am temporarily unable to evaluate them here.

What this writer is willing to point out is: there exists a great difference between the echo "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" heard from this new generation of intellectuals who are ardently concerned about Hong Kong's society and the proposition "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" put forward by the Chinese communist leaders.

First, the purpose of the Chinese communists in putting forward the proposition "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" is to insure by it that all the present systems there will be maintained without change after sovereignty is taken back; but "Point of Convergence's" first specific proposal is that the "political system currently in effect must be reformed."

Second, the present political system is certainly not democratic; the governor of Hong Kong has great power, and if necessary he can act as a dictator. In November of last year, when Liao Chengzhi met with the manufacturer Huang Chien, Liao said that the entire political system would remain intact in the future and that Hong Kong's leaders would not emerge through elections but should "emerge through consultations." In November of last year, Gu Mu answered Hu Ying-hsiang's question about "my worry that in the future I will become a class enemy" by saying: "You certainly won't, unless you engage in politics." The basic conviction put forward by "Point of Convergence" is in democracy and

in the wide participation by the masses in politics, and it specifically proposes that there be a system of democratic elections.

Third, the basic conviction of "Point of Convergence" is that it "holds that an ideal Hong Kong should be a society in which democracy and civil rights are respected and in which the people's wishes are made primary," and it specifically proposes that "freedom of speech, communications, news, and publishing be realized." According to the earliest revelation by a certain leftist publication in Hong Kong about the plan that a certain high-level Chinese communist personage has in mind for "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong," the plan includes the statement that if the "opposition press becomes bold it can be dealt with"; the editorial in the 6 November RENMIN RIBAO regarded the effect on the mainland of "reactionary propaganda" from Taiwan and Hong Kong and the "bourgeoisie of these places" as the chief reason for the existence of class struggle in China at the present stage.

In principle, it would not be wrong to say that "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" is just like "Shanghai people rule Shanghai" and "Guangdong people rule Guangdong." But the Chinese communists put forward the proposition "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" in order to use it as a means to insure that Hong Kong's capitalist system is preserved intact. China's new constitution does not provide a legal basis for letting Hong Kong practice the capitalist system, but on the contrary, in Article 5 ("None of the laws, administrative laws and regulations, or local laws and regulations can conflict with the constitution") and in Article 1 ("The socialist system is the fundamental system of the People's Republic of China. It is forbidden for any organization or individual to damage the socialist system"), states clearly that there does not exist the legal basis for the free capitalist society in Hong Kong proposed by "Point of Convergence." Therefore, this writer thinks that the Chinese communists will be extremely pleased, in this period of negotiations with Britain, to see the Hong Kong people accept and echo the principle of "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong"; but, when accepting this principle, the people of Hong Kong must have a clear definition of this principle and they cannot accept and echo it if it is a dim idea.

The part of the idea "Hong Kong rule Hong Kong" that most needs to be unequivocal is what kind of Hong Kong people "will come to rule Hong Kong." Looking at past experience and political reality, people worry that the "Hong Kong people" who "rule Hong Kong" are bound to be procommunist personages, and that the point of departure of their administration will be to make primary the catering to the requirements of the top layer of the Chinese communists (the fundamental interests of 1 billion people?) and will not be to make primary the interests of Hong Kong residents.

#### The Principle of the "Three-Legged Stool"

A response opposite to the principle "Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong" put forward by the Chinese communists is the "three-legged stool" principle put forward by some people recently. These people include British officials and members of parliament visiting Hong Kong. In addition, drawing more attention, many democratically elected or appointed legislators, including Chang Yu-hsing,

head of the civil administration bureau, at the bureau's anniversary debate in the middle of January, put forward the "three-legged stool" principle and held that it should be maintained for at least 30 to 50 years.

The so-called "three-legged stool" principle means that if Hong Kong is to preserve its prosperity and stability, China, Britain, and Hong Kong all need to play a role. There is no denying the role of the Hong Kong people's great exertions and China's support. The question is the role of the British. The people who have put forward the "three-legged stool" principle obviously think that the role of the British will vanish. Therefore, the leftist newspapers have criticized the "three-legged" principle, holding that it "really will be a continuation of British rule of Hong Kong, and it fundamentally negates the taking back of Hong Kong's sovereignty by China and the capacity of the Hong Kong people to rule Hong Kong." From the reaction of the leftist newspapers, one sees that although the Chinese communists are already fairly able to face reality, they still refuse to acknowledge Britain's role in the political and legal traditions of Hong Kong and in the internationalizing of Hong Kong.

This writer thinks that, in the past and at present, the formulation "three-legged stool" undoubtedly reflects reality. As for China's taking back sovereignty, and having Hong Kong people rule Hong Kong, at the very least China must pay attention to the past and present role of the British, after which it can think of a way of replacing this leg of the "three-legged stool." This is an attitude that faces reality. In fact, the maintaining of the "three-legged stool" does not necessarily mean that every one of the legs will continue to play its original role and does not necessarily mean that the "British will continue to rule Hong Kong." For example, in his interview Li Mingze indicated that legal experts from Britain and China could be invited to Hong Kong to take charge of appellate courts, and that "I think there is no reason to expel persons from outside who can be entrusted with work."

In addition, rumor has it that, in the present stage of Sino-British negotiations, the British Ministry of External Affairs has received the "relay baton" from Mrs Thatcher and has put forward the tentative idea of "getting the right to rule Hong Kong in exchange for recognizing China's sovereignty." Even if at present China has not expressed its agreement to this tentative idea, this idea cannot be said not to be another form of the "three-legged stool."

#### News From the New Territories Delegation

After completing this article, I went to see the "visiting delegation of well-known personages of the New Territories," headed by the chairman of the New Territories Rural Legislative Bureau, which had gone to Beijing and held three meetings with Liao Chengzhi, to discuss news about the question of Hong Kong's future. Even if the details of the exchange of views between the Chinese communists and the visiting delegation had to be "kept secret," I could see, from some indications, certain important points:

On 18 January, less than an hour after it returned to Hong Kong, the "visiting delegation" handed over the record of its talks in Beijing to Government Affairs Administrator Chung I-chieh of the Hong Kong government. Chung said he would have the record translated into English and at the first opportunity hand it over to the governor of Hong Kong so that it would be a reference for the latter when he went to Britain on the 21st for consultations about the negotiations on Hong Kong's future. One can see that the "visiting delegation" really undertook the mission of being an intermediary between China and Britain.

The five copies of the statement of proposals brought by the "visiting delegation" showed that in the first meeting with Liao Chengzhi he did most of the talking, in the second meeting the "visiting delegation" did most of the talking, and in the third meeting the two sides were about equal in their talking, and that arguments arose. Many times Liao said: "I have seldom heard frank opinions like these." One can see that the "visiting delegation" on the whole reflected some realities about Hong Kong that the Chinese communists are unwilling to face; in another aspect it proves, from the reverse side, that the "visiting delegations" that Liao Chengzhi saw in the past all understood that they should regard the intentions of the Chinese communists as primary and should not reflect and make primary the intentions of the people of Hong Kong.

The role of the British in the "three-legged stool" was still an important point. The "visiting delegation" reflected misgivings about "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" and proposed that after 1997 China and Britain maintain Hong Kong's status quo under conditions of equality and mutual benefit. Liao Chengzhi replied that this could be considered.

But Liao Chengzhi flatly refused to postpone the taking back of Hong Kong's sovereignty. The "visiting delegation" proposed that, beginning from now, a transition period of 30 to 50 years during which the status quo is maintained is needed before "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong" is brought about. Liao indicated that the transition could only be 14 years, and that when sovereignty is taken back in 1997 a Chinese will take the post of governor but that the British can be advisers and secretaries. Liao's comment on the five copies of the statement of proposals was that he "sought common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones."

Therefore, China's unequivocal attitude is that it definitely will not postpone its taking back of sovereignty in 1997. As for what this precisely means, as Li Zeming said, individual interpretations differ. According to indications given by the "visiting delegation," Liao Chengzhi has transmitted to Britain China's definite intention to take back sovereignty in 1997, but Britain has not yet replied. Therefore, the negotiations have reached an impasse.

#### Conclusion

If we say that up to the present time, Hong Kong's stability has depended on the "three-legged stool," then over one year ago the people of Hong Kong

underestimated their own role in this "three-legged stool." It was as if only China and Britain had the power to decide Hong Kong's future and the people of Hong Kong had no place in which to put their oar. The Chinese and British "legs" are long ones, and Hong Kong's "leg" is a short one. Currently, there are still a lot of people who hold this view. The reality is this: there are no personages taking part in the negotiations between China and Britain who represent Hong Kong's popular will (or no representative of the popular will has yet been produced). Recently, Hong Kong's popular will has regarded the Chinese and British sides as important, and there are people in Hong Kong who think that this is a good opportunity for broad participation by the populace. No matter whether China and Britain are being actuated by tactical considerations, or are doing so in order to set up the "signboard of popular will" in the negotiations, the question of Hong Kong's future is directly affected, and it is a question of the Hong Kong residents' rights and interests. Therefore, it looks like there is a trend by the people of Hong Kong to try hard to get a platform in the negotiations from which they can speak.

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CH'EN JO-HSI DISCUSSES PRC'S INTELLECTUALS

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 2, Feb 83  
pp 60-61

[Article by Ch'en Jo-hsi [7115 5387 2569]: "A Discussion of the Current Status of Intellectuals in the PRC"]

[Text] Guests and Friends:

I recently returned to Nanjing after an interval of 9 years to take a look at the place where I once worked and took the opportunity to visit some other areas. I stayed a total of 42 days, and those I came in contact with were mostly college professors, old colleagues and local cadres. Now I will talk about what I know: the current state of mind of the mainland intellectuals and some special phenomena concerning them.

Compared to the time of the Cultural Revolution, today's intellectuals on the mainland generally feel much more relaxed. What they dwelt upon with relish was the two wage readjustments in recent years. Though the scale was very small, a mere 5 or 6 yuan in renminbi, everyone was pleased with two readjustments within a short time. Everyone who saw me wanted to invite me for dinner. When I asked them not to stand on ceremonies, they said: "Our pay has increased, and we can afford it." They appeared rather generous. In addition, the universities also restored the promotion system of associate professors and professors, who were encouraged to pursue advanced studies or research abroad. All these made the intellectuals feel that there was again a bright prospect.

Today the CPC vigorously talk about the four modernizations, and modernization requires the service of the intellectuals. After being given important posts, the position of the intellectuals has risen, and the "honeymoon" phenomenon often mentioned by us outside has again appeared. Naturally, they are not completely satisfied, but as a whole, they are much more satisfied compared with the time of the Cultural Revolution.

Compared to 9 years ago, today's intellectuals dare to express themselves. Naturally they do not speak out freely, and they are reluctant to talk

about many subjects, or they hold back on them, e.g., the political system. As for criticizing the cadres, they dare to say something about the basic and medium level cadres, but somewhat hold back on the high level ones.

There is one feature which is worthwhile for me to tell my friends from Taiwan: The mainland people have many good words for Taiwan. People like us who came from Taiwan indeed love the treasure island. Because of our deep love, we demand much of it. Thereupon, criticizing seems to have become a habit. Going to the mainland and hearing all kinds of praises of Taiwan, as if it had become a paradise, truly exhilarated me. If you do not believe me, go to the mainland to find out.

I discovered this time that the basic level cadres were also rather bold in criticizing, and they delighted most in criticizing Mao Zedong. The "four upholds" advocated by the CPC include upholding Mao Zedong Thought. It appears that one of the "four upholds" is now missing.

The time I was on the mainland happened to coincide with the textbook revision in Japan. The CPC papers published the news, but in a low key. I felt that the matter was handled too casually, and many others felt the same. They said: "Had this happened during the Cultural Revolution, there would have been at least a mammoth one- or two-million people demonstration, held simultaneously in several cities. What has happened to our government? Somewhat trying to please Japan--too low a key!" It indicates that the intellectuals are interested in the affairs of the state. Given the opportunity, they are courageous in criticizing and in declaring their stand.

In assessing the Cultural Revolution, the intellectuals hold nothing back. The CPC papers and magazines casually blame all mistakes on the "gang of four," but many cadres do not look at the matter this way. They feel that, though the criticisms and struggles against the numerous old cadres during the Cultural Revolution were of course excessive or unjust, it does not mean that all the cadres in those years were blameless. Many criticisms were correct. Some individuals, after undergoing criticism and struggle, have not only failed to recognize their mistakes, but act as if they had rendered meritorious service. Now that they have been "reinstated to their former positions," they have "resumed their former bureaucratic attitude," riding roughshod over the common people. If the goal of Mao Zedong in promoting the Cultural Revolution in those years was to knock down and prevent bureaucracy in the party, then, the Cultural Revolution was launched in vain; some old cadres remain totally indifferent.

In regard to the retirement system now being introduced, China's intellectuals raise both arms in welcome. One can say that those in their forties and fifties eagerly await the retirement of those 70 years old and over, hoping that they will yield their positions. The middle-aged cadres also have the same state of mind. Nevertheless, the social state

of China today remains: with office, there are privileges; without office, there is no privilege. It is alright to have no office, but the loss of special privileges is most inconvenient. To mollify the old and high level cadres, the separation system has emerged, i.e., relinquishing the post without loss of pay and special privileges, and sometimes 1 or 2 months of extra pay a year is added depending on seniority. Some intellectuals do not endorse "separation." Though the number of personnel remains the same, the expenditures of the state has actually increased. Everyone knows that it is a transitional measure and cannot be helped.

Today's intellectuals as a rule are tired of political movements and they take to disguised resistance. This can be seen in the criticism of Bai Hua [4101 2901] last year. Many people openly objected, and the students of Beijing University protested by large-letter posters. Currently, the mainland still follows the weekly political study system, and many people find it a waste of time.

The duties of the intellectuals are heavy, but their pay is low. In the past 30 years, instead of going up, it has even dropped. The peasants' pay in the past was very low, but now, with the responsibility system and the practice of production by households, their lives have greatly improved. The workers follow the bonus system and receive more pay for more work; therefore, it is not bad for them. The intellectuals depend on their fixed pay. Though the wages were readjusted, the 5 or 6 yuan raise is offset by inflation, and the actual increase is not much. The pay of a 40- or 50-year old middle-aged physician is about 70 plus yuan renminbi a month, while a worker of the same age, though getting the same pay, may, with bonus, receive 100 yuan. Therefore, when registering for college entrance examinations, very few apply for premed, entirely the opposite of Taiwan.

The low pay of the intellectuals has also slowed down the redress of many unjust, false and wrong cases. The implementation of the intellectuals policy was started in the later stage of the Cultural Revolution, but the pace was slow. The earliest category of people benefited by the implementation of the policy consisted of old and high level cadres and a small number of targets of the united front. When it comes to the common citizens, the matter has stalled. The East China Hydraulic Engineering College where I used to work is fairly advanced in this aspect, but, calling to mind that it has taken 9 years, I find the pace somewhat slow.

Today, the housing issue is of the greatest concern on the mainland. The housing situation is the most backward aspect in today's China. After more than 30 years since the founding of the nation, it is a common occurrence for a family of four to live in one room. When it comes to housing, the East China Hydraulic Engineering College is again an advanced unit. Basically, a teacher with a family of four has two rooms. Nevertheless, in terms of the intellectuals, it is inadequate. They urgently need space to study in the evenings. While I was on the mainland, Zhao Ziyang announced that living and working conditions must be created for

the middle-aged intellectuals as soon as possible. Before I even saw the paper, several people told me the news. So excited that they "lost no time in telling one another the good news." Actually, it was only an announcement, and no one knew when it would come true. Nevertheless, they were already elated, indicating their eagerness for better housing.

Another phenomenon I discovered is that the health of the middle-aged intellectuals is generally not good. The reason is obvious: Since 1957, the intellectuals were tormented for almost 20 years by "anti-rightism," "great leap forward," "four clean-ups" and the 10-year Cultural Revolution. They were either labeled rightists and sentenced to labor reform, or sent to work in the villages and mountains, or ordered to pursue political movements without interruption. They were exhausted in mind and body through the years, and their health suffered. Several persons in the East China Hydraulic Engineering College contracted cancer. They were all middle-aged teachers around 40 years old, the age when they should be giving full play to their aspirations, yet they suffered incurable ailments. Therefore, there is a popular saying in the school: "The old do not die; the dead are not old." Though naturally meant as a joke, it reflects the sad reality: The middle-aged have the heaviest load of work but the lowest pay. Naturally their health suffers.

Next to the housing problem, the intellectuals are most concerned about their children's education. Whether the children can go to college has become the most important matter for every family. Not just college, but they devote their entire energy on sending their children to key middle schools. I was there in the summer when entrance examinations for junior and senior middle schools and colleges were underway. The word "examination" resounded throughout the country, much more serious than in Taiwan! The proportion of senior middle school graduates entering college is fairly high in Taiwan--about 30 percent I would say, but it is only 3.6 percent on the mainland; eliminations are drastic. Thus, college entrance examinations are not easy, and the tension is greater than China's imperial examinations in the old days. When I visited my friends' families, any child preparing for college entrance examinations would not meet with me, for fear of distraction. The life of the entire family revolved around the college candidate. One friend's family just bought an electric fan--reportedly a Datong fan, and whoever wishing to use it must go through discussions by the whole family. Naturally, it was reserved for the college candidate, who also enjoyed a room all by himself. Only when he was not using the fan were others permitted their turns. He was given priority in everything.

A while ago, relations between the mainland and the United States, because of the arms sales to Taiwan, appeared to be at a low tide. Many people worried that the situation would affect their children's prospect of studying in the United States. According to our understanding, the range of the ups and downs of China's intellectuals in the past 30 years was very broad, and the downs lasted far longer than the ups. They suffered all kinds of torments, were condemned as "Old-Nines," sentenced to labor

reform, put to manual labor, sent to the mountains and villages, assigned to the cowsheds, ordered to training classes, shut away for 2 or 3 years at a time.... Yet now they still exhaust all means to send their children to college and abroad and to again turn them into intellectuals.

I recall an instance: When Lin Biao was in power, he ordered all the intellectuals to go to the countryside. The order was issued at 8 o'clock in the evening and the intellectuals had to be on their way by 12 midnight, leaving them only 4 hours to make arrangements for their household affairs and children. The 1-year old infant of a teacher in Nanjing was running a high fever. In a hurry, he was unable to find anyone to look after the child. Filled with all kinds of emotions, he said to the child: "If the fever does not kill you this time, you must never become an intellectual!" But today, the intellectuals are still exhausting all means to turn their children into intellectuals. Obviously China's intellectuals have a high resilience. Indeed, "not even the prairie fire can destroy the grass; it grows again when the spring breeze blows." I feel that China's intellectuals are promising; they will never be knocked down!

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'COMMENT ON FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES' ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 64, Feb 83 pp 44-46

[Article by Liu Sung-mang [0491 2646 5462]: "'Comment on the "Four Upholds'" Should Not Be Cudgeled--the Spiritual Essence of the Comment"]

[Text] After its appearance in this publication, the article entitled "Comment on the 'Four Upholds'" ["Comment"] caused strong repercussions on the mainland, especially Guangdong's officialdom. Certain individuals (including those who had been criticized in articles in this publication) reprimanded CHENG MING for "opposing the four upholds." Recently, YANGCHENG WANBAO criticized it for "its main purpose of opposing the 'four upholds,'" and further alleged that "Comment" was "a slander of the 'four upholds,'" thereby revealing one important reason for their dissatisfaction with CHENG MING. We feel that the "four upholds" need to be explored, should be explored and deserve to be explored. "Comment's" author repeatedly declared: "My view on the 'four upholds' is my limited understanding. I express it for the purpose of seeking advice from the wise and of common exploration." We believe that our readers in Hong Kong, on the mainland and overseas have their own views on the "four upholds" and "Comment." The article published here represents one view. This publication plans to launch a special topic discussion of the "four upholds" and "Comment." We hope that our readers and writers will take part in it, stressing reason in their manuscripts. All views are welcome.--What we seek is a true "one hundred schools of thought contending."

In 1981, just when the CPC was vigorously propagandizing the "four upholds," Mr Wen Hui [3306 3549] published in CHENG MING, Numbers 41-49, his long article entitled "Comment on the 'Four Upholds.'" With the spirit of courageously exploring for the truth and with the basic

principle of affirming the CPC, he boldly made queries and expressed dissents. Though an academic study, as it involved some extremely sensitive issues, it was easily subjected to the "anti-party and anti-socialist" label. For this reason, I feel that there is still the necessity today to study the views and hopes expressed in the article.

### I. Basic Content of "Comment"

Consisting of some 40,000 words, "Comment" was serialized in seven issues. Its basic content is the author's views and suggestions on the "four upholds," from concept to substance, and the way of "upholding."

On "upholding the socialist path," the author feels that, to date, there are still numerous conflicting views on just what the true socialist system is. Whether in theory or in practice, there is no "authority;" "Marx only envisaged the three stages and five systems of government to achieve communism;" "Lenin's expositions on socialism were merely predictive and directional;" the "Stalin model" is filled with flaws and mistakes; the "Yugoslavian model" is not the only model; the "Chinese model" is far from established.... In short, in regard to "socialism," there is neither a uniform criterion in theory, nor a commonly recognized model in practice. Everything remains in the course of exploring, developing and creating. Is it not worthwhile to study just what should be "upheld" and how to "uphold?"

On "upholding the proletarian dictatorship," the author feels that, for a long time, the CPC has not clarified the substance and the historical mission of the "proletarian dictatorship." Its open censure of Yugoslavia's "renegade Tito clique" is a clear demonstration. One of the fundamental mistakes of the CPC and Mao Zedong was their failure to "uphold" the doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin on the proletarian dictatorship, i.e., their failure to regard true democracy as the substance and core of the proletarian dictatorship; therefore, they placed "dictatorship" and "democracy" on opposite sides and repeated Stalin's mistake of indiscriminate suppression. Another mistake was to regard the proletarian dictatorship as the governmental system in the socialist phase and to substitute party and leader dictatorship for the proletarian dictatorship, thereby leading to the degeneration of socialism and restoration of feudalism. Such "dictatorship" naturally should not be upheld.

On "upholding the party's leadership," the author poses the question of whether a "one-party system" or "multiparty system" is better. Because, theoretically speaking, Marx and Engels also felt that the communist party is not the only proletarian political party. In practice, the communism of Europe once objected to the one-party system; the Yugoslavian Communist Party, by not absolutizing the party's leadership, has produced more favorable results. The author also feels that, for the CPC to exercise true leadership, the key is in overcoming the confidence crisis; therefore, it must completely negate "the party's centralized leadership" and such "principles" as the party's preeminence over the state and the

law. In short, if "a party divorces itself from the people, it runs the danger of being spurned by the people!"

On "upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought," the author feels that today a grave crisis of faith in Marxism-Leninism has appeared; therefore, there is the necessity to further study and assess the Marxist-Leninist tenets. For this reason, the wording "uphold" is not very scientific. Just what parts of Marxism-Leninism should be upheld? Should every theory be upheld, or just the basic truths? As for Mao Zedong Thought, in view of the fact that many unscientific, and even incorrect, views are found in its theories, how should it be "upheld?"

In the "concluding remarks," the author makes two suggestions: 1. The "four upholds" should be changed to "four explorations." 2. If the "four basic principles" must be proposed, he feels that each principle contains matters calling for deliberation, and that the wording should be changed to "five basic principles:" Upholding patriotism must be included in the basic principles and given first place.

## II. "Four Upholds" Are Not Absolute Truths

The "four upholds" are certainly not absolute truths; therefore, people have the right to explore them. In fact, the CPC theoreticians are continuously arguing over certain issues found in them. Naturally, they follow a relatively "orthodox" method. Those who frankly express themselves like Mr Wen Hui, in disregard of offending the "four upholds," are probably few in number. Nevertheless, if true explorations are to be made, "frank expression" is the minimum requirement.

"The 'four upholds' are like four lines of a 'cryptic poem,' each line requiring clarification, exploration and deliberation. On the issue of socialism, for instance, what is socialism? What is the socialist path? Is there only one socialist model or do 'all roads lead to Rome?' Is the Stalin and Mao Zedong model true socialism? Is China now in the socialist historical phase or in a transitional period?.... Whether in theory or in practice, there have been no authoritative answers to these questions in China or even in the world.... If, by means of cryptic and unscientific slogans, the people are asked to 'uphold' things which are not clear to them, it will be most inappropriate."

"A Discussion of the Essence of the Proletarian Dictatorship," an article appearing in XUEXI YU TANSUO [STUDY AND EXPLORATION] (sponsored by the Heilongjiang Academy of Social Sciences and others), Number 1, 1981, said: 'For a long time, people have no unanimous understanding of what the proletarian dictatorship is and what its essence is.' Famous theoretician Xing Bisi [6717 6321 1835], assistant chief of the Institute of Philosophy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, also said: 'In regard to the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship in the socialist period, some issues have not been clarified all these years and others are most confusing.'"

As for what "Mao Zedong Thought" is, people, for a long time, had no clear conception. Not until the "Resolution on a Number of the Party's Historical Issues since the Founding of the Nation" was there some fairly clear explanation. As for whether there will be new interpretations in some future date, it is hard to predict.

....

In short, the numerous problems found in the theory and practice of the "four upholds" cannot be solved overnight. Only explorations according to different viewpoints and from different angles will further the early understanding of the true colors of matters and the true upholding of the "four upholds!"

### III. Contradiction and Unity of "Exploration" and "Upholding"

In terms of the "four basic principles," should they be explored? Or upheld? On the surface there seems to be a contradiction, but the end of contradiction is still unity. In theory and practice, many problems are found in the "four basic principles" themselves, and they can only be solved by continuous intensive explorations. When just what "scientific socialism" is has not been clarified, isn't "upholding the socialist path" an empty phrase? Therefore, Mr Wen Hui is extremely correct when he says that "exploration is for the sake of clarifying and upholding the things which should be upheld."

Since correct exploration is for the sake of correct upholding, how can exploring the "four basic principles" be interpreted as opposing them? Since the "four basic principles" are not absolute truths, then, people should be permitted to continuously understand, explore and revise them. Mao Zedong's words, for instance, were once considered as "every sentence a truth," but now it has been found otherwise. Does it mean that his words themselves have changed? No, but people's understanding of the "supreme directives" has changed, changing from blind worship to cool analysis and from "implementing them whether they are understood or not" to implementing only the correct and revising or discarding the incorrect. When people treat Mao Zedong's "absolute authority" thus--which is only proper, how can they be barred from exploring the "four upholds?"

If exploration is for the sake of better upholding, then it is even more proper to take an attitude of welcome. Take "uphold the party's leadership" for instance: Is it conceivable that it contains nothing worthy of exploration? Naturally, in view of China's present state of affairs, basically abolishing the CPC's leadership is impractical; any other political party may not necessarily have the capacity to manage successfully a country of 1 billion people. From the CPC's standpoint, it is a matter of course for it to propose "uphold the party's leadership." Actually, party leadership is embodied in many countries. The president of Japan's Liberal-Democratic Party automatically becomes the head of the government;

candidates for the U.S. presidency must also be first severally elected by the two parties. But, unlike the CPC, they do not loudly shout slogans on the one hand and place the party above everything else on the other.

In regard to this problem, the focus of Mr Wen Hui's exploration is: how to "uphold the party's leadership" and how to improve the party's image. The two issues complement each other. If not properly solved, it will be difficult to uphold the party's leadership. In the early days after liberation, the CPC enjoyed a high prestige among the people throughout the country, but after the "anti-rightwing struggles," the "three red banners," "anti-rightism" and the "Great Cultural Revolution," the series of ultra movements to "uphold the party's leadership," its prestige steadily dropped, to the extent when the party elders had to raise a cry of warning that the party, beset by crises, had reached the juncture of "life or death." Why was there such a consequence? It was because, for a long time, people had no correct understanding of the "party's leadership." Just think: In a country like China of such an enormous population, all matters were decided by the "party's" words--actually the words of the chairman, first secretary or branch secretary! Thereupon, the personality cult and bureaucracy flourished, and special privileges and arbitrary directions became a trend, to the stage of suppressing the dissenters and holding human life in utter contempt! As a result, the comradely relationship of sharing life and death deteriorated and the harmonious link between the party and the masses dissolved, thereby producing the "three crises of faith." The issue is exhaustively analyzed in Mr Wen Hui's "Third Comment on the 'Four Upholds.'"

In view of the above discussions, we can see that "upholding the party's leadership" to the extreme equates extreme undemocracy, which is the very root of the "three crises of faith!" Thus, proposing exploration of the issue is in the hope that the CPC will assimilate the bitter lesson, correct the mistakes in work and finally achieve true democracy in the life of the state, thereby regaining the people's trust and respect. By then, without loud slogans, the party's leadership will be automatically "upheld!"

Doesn't such exploration form a unity with upholding?

#### IV. Uphold "100 Schools of Thought Contending" on Academic Issues

On literary and academic issues, "100 flowers blooming; 100 schools of thought contending" should be permitted. I feel that today this advocacy of Mao Zedong's should be upheld--even though Mao Zedong himself failed to do so.

The "four basic principles" appear to be a political issue, but they are also an academic issue, depending on the angle from which they are observed. I feel that they are a political issue when they are opposed, and an academic issue when they are explored. The line of demarcation must be clearly drawn, and "exploration" and "opposition" absolutely must

not be equalized, for it will confuse the contradictions of two different natures.

In terms of China's current state of affairs, if we truly oppose the "four basic principles," then it will merely amount to replacing the socialist path with the capitalist path, the Communist Party leadership with the Kuomintang leadership, and Marxism-Leninism with the sham "Three People's Principles," thereby making it a political issue--a political issue of a fundamental nature. Yet "exploration" is otherwise; it belongs in the realm of academic research. By exploration, doubts of the "four basic principles," for instance, can be clarified, mistakes rectified, and matters producing undesirable consequences discarded. Continuous intensification in this manner will make the "four basic principles" approach closer to "truths." Naturally, in the course of exploration, it will not be surprising for some people to hold one-sided, or even incorrect, views, for otherwise, how can there be 100 schools of thought contending??!

Didn't the CPC often declared in the past that, "the more the argument, the clearer is the truth?" It is completely correct. Therefore, when 100 schools of thought contend, the contending must not be restricted to the CPC alone, especially in view of the fact that it is the party concerned and cannot see the problems as clearly as the bystanders. Though the issues involve the theories and principles of the CPC, they concern the fate of all the Chinese; therefore, listening to the views of others will be most helpful. The 1957 party rectification was an internal affair, yet at the beginning, the democratic parties were urged to express themselves. It was a good thing to start with. Had Mao Zedong calmly listened to the views of the various quarters at the time, listening to both the favorable and unfavorable comments, and truly followed his own famous dictum, viz., "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words," then, the gigantic tragedy would never have occurred, and it would not have taken more than 20 years to recognize the value of the "rightwing views" at the time.

The views expressed in "Comment" naturally may not all be correct, especially when observed from the CPC standpoint. Certain advocacies seem to have an "anti-party" flavor. Nevertheless, in the first place, the spiritual essence of the article is not without merit. In the second place, since the policy of 100 schools of thought contending is to be implemented, there is no harm in allowing this minor school to express itself. It must not be cudgeled to death, thereby repeating the disaster of "magnifying anti-rightism!" It can be said to be this writer's modest hope!

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EXPANDING ROLE OF MILITARY IN KMT POWER STRUCTURE SEEN

Taipei PA SHI NIEN TAI /THE EIGHTIES/ in Chinese Vol 6 No 1, Feb 83 pp 60-62

/Article by Ch'en Pi-sheng /7115 1801 0524/: "Civilian Officials, Party Workers, Military Secret Agents--On the Power Core of the KMT"/

/Text/ In issue No 26 of the magazine PA SHI NIEN TAI (September 1971), this writer wrote an article entitled "Will Political Power in Taiwan Come Out of the Barrel of a Gun?" which, from the viewpoint of historical and social background, roughly analyzed the possibility of the military's gaining political power in Taiwan. The 27 January FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW carried an article on an interview with Mr Sung Ch'ang-chih, our country's minister of national defense. A reporter on its staff, Mr David Jenkins, asked: Will there be a military coup d'etat in Taiwan in the future? Minister Sung replied: "In this country a military coup d'etat is absolutely impossible. Our mission is to defend the country, protect the people, and support our government."

Minister Sung's background is that of Britain's Imperial Naval Academy and he has personally experienced the true essence of democratic life in the advanced countries of the West. When he says "In this country a military coup d'etat is absolutely impossible," his belief is based on his rational knowledge and on his feelings alike, and it is highly estimable. However, the latter part of his statement--"Our mission is to defend the country, protect the people, and support the government"--makes us feel somewhat doubtful. This is because not only do senior military officers in democratic countries frequently occur (particularly the Third World countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America) often make this kind of high-sounding talk their banner, and the KMT authorities have consistently held that the national condition of our country is special, so there is no way that major significance can be attached to this statement by Minister Sung.

Of course we have no intention of nitpicking or misinterpreting the original idea behind this statement. It is only that at this sensitive time--the KMT is about to convene a plenary session of its central committee to reelect the standing committee, at yearend it will reelect additional standing members of the committee, next year a presidential election will be held, the senior members of the National Assembly are rapidly aging, the economy continues to decline, and there is no way to break out of the country's difficult position

in foreign affairs--when such problems as these are attacking us one after another, the political power structure faces a critical juncture of change, we think that unavoidably the "military" factor must be taken into account with regard to Taiwan's future prospects. The above-mentioned talk by Minister Sun makes us even more take into account the position of the "military" in the power structure and its possible effects.

#### The Military's Position in the Power Core

In another aspect, although since the central government of the republic withdrew to Taiwan in the 38th year of the republic, Taiwan's political situation has always been one that maintained relative stability, and from previous examples of large-scale coups it is generally recognized that this stability was effected by the arbitrary leadership of the "sage hero type" exercised by the highest KMT authorities. From first to last, the KMT has deliberately avoided the military's direct involvement in the core of political power and its possession of excessive power. And today, throughout the country and abroad, it is universally recognized: after the death of President Chiang Ching-kuo, Taiwan cannot expect there to be a leader of the "sage hero type" like the old president and President Chiang Ching-kuo. Recently, owing to President Chiang Ching-kuo's physical indisposition, there have been all sorts of signs showing many embryonic forms of leaders in the pattern of KMT leadership and a gradual tendency toward increasing activity by military secret agents as well as other factions within the party.

As an example of this, we clearly discovered three things that occurred this year: The civil official system headed by Executive Yuan President Sun Yun-hsuan has not obtained the full support and cooperation of the military secret agents and various factions within the party, and he is the one who has absolute power of implementation with regard to taking charge of the total situation.

First: There is a contradiction in the attitude toward the provincial associations. Executive Yuan President Sun first said: "Some people think that the government looks upon the various Taiwan provincial associations abroad as organizations for Taiwan's independence or peripheral organizations for Taiwan's independence. This formulation stems from a mistaken understanding. The government has great esteem for the patriotic zeal and behavior of Overseas Chinese residing abroad in various places." Afterward, the Executive Yuan stated: "The World General Assembly of Taiwan-independence elements, and no personnel holding public office should attend the annual meeting of the general assembly."

Second: Executive Yuan President Sun replied to an inquiry from legislative committee member Kang Ning-hsiang by promising to establish many links with the legislative committee members in order to reach a common understanding. Then, when the legislative committees outside the party decided to hold a forum on reaching a common understanding, the KMT refused to participate, and even forbade its members to participate in a forum on reaching a common understanding held with good intentions by the newspaper TZU LI WAN PAO.

Third: National Defense Minister Sun Ch'ang-chih replied to Huang Huang-hsiung's inquiry by earnestly declaring that he would "treat as an individual case" the matter of granting a special pardon with regard to the Lin I-hsing affair, but over 3 months have now passed and there has been no follow-up.

Personages familiar with domestic political affairs think that these three affairs--in which the KMT's executive personnel made promises which they later broke--were the result of an attitude of resistance and obstruction taken as the policy of the conservative forces headed by the military and intelligence units toward the civilian government composed mainly of technicians and bureaucrats.

In truth, if the cooperation and support of the military secret agents and various other sides had been obtained, it would have been easy to make good on these three promises. Moreover, if the KMT had kept its promises on these three things, not only would its ruling position not have been harmed but the unity of its compatriots at home and abroad and throughout the country would even have been promoted. The KMT had no reason to break its promises. However, the power core of the KMT does not march in step, and this fact makes the civilian government not dare to rashly take a free hand in doing things, and even not have time to take into account the big scruple that "the government cannot break its promises to the citizens." Therefore, the position occupied by the military in the KMT power core is once again a subject of grave concern by my compatriots.

Everybody knows that the KMT power core is normally found in three organizations: 1) the Executive Yuan Council; 2) the Central Standing Committee; and 3) the National Security Council.

#### The Glorious History of the Executive Yuan Council

The Executive Yuan Council has a brilliant history, and in the period when President Chiang Ching-kuo was president of the Executive Yuan the power core was in the Executive Yuan and what it ordered had to be done, but now it is the lowest layer of the three organizations. The major personnel or policies on human affairs that the Executive Yuan Council has decided on after deliberations are subject in their entirety to "directives" from the Central Standing Committee of the KMT Central Committee, and the council is an organ for carrying out KMT policies and implementing the KMT's will. Through the "hard work" of the Executive Yuan, KMT policies are often able to "legally" become the government's policies. Among the 20 men comprising the Executive Yuan Council, who include heads of ministries and councils as well as committee members of nongoverning departments, two have a military background: Sung Ch'ang-chih, minister of national defense, and Cheng Wei-yuan, head of the Guidance Council. But Sung has held the posts of commander-in-chief of the navy, chief of the general staff, and is now minister of national defense, so when speaking about the KMT's power core, although the Executive Yuan is not the most important organization, Sung Ch'ang-chih is often mentioned in discussions throughout the country and abroad.

### The Central Standing Committee Is the Focus of Broad Attention.

For the people of the country, the convening every Wednesday of the Standing Committee of the KMT Central Committee is an event that receives "comparatively" much attention. This is because the great majority of the items that the Standing Committee discusses will become the top news in next day's newspapers, and they will also become the main topics for discussion by the Executive Yuan Council when it meets on Thursday, the 27 "important personages" from party, government, military, special agent, cultural, and other circles, who make up the Central Standing Committee, are considered to hold the highest power, and they are the objects whom reporters covering party and government news trail in order to cover the news. However, people familiar with inside information all know that not every member of the Central Standing Committee has an equal right to speak. Some "important persons" have self-knowledge, and they profoundly understand that the post they hold today has only 2 tiny representational significance, fact is the most important consideration. Therefore, they always hold their tongue, and only when necessary do they publicly display their talents or make known their position.

Of the Central Standing Committee members who draw broad attention and are considered to carry the most weight and have the most power, the civilian official is Sun Yun-hsuan (president of the Executive Yuan), the party worker is Chiang Yen-shih (secretary of the Central Party Headquarters), and the military secret agents are Sung Ch'ang-chih (minister of national defense), Wang Sheng (director of the General Political Warfare Department in the Ministry of National Defense), and Ma Chi-Chuang (secretary general of the President's Office). Rumor has it that Ku Cheng-kang, who for many years directed the Mainland Refugee Relief Association and is an honorary chairman of the World League, also carries considerable weight.

#### Sun, Chiang, Sung, Wang, and Ma

Sun Yun-hsuan was once regarded by ASIA WEEK as the number two man in Taiwan. His strongest points are his background as a bureaucrat-technician and the fact that he enjoys the good opinion and trust of the common people. However, in reality Sun Yun-hsuan only has the power to implement policy decisions and is unable to coordinate affairs by making use of his post. If he wants to do something he must obtain the tripartite support of personages in various quarters who actually hold power, and this is the most the people of the country can expect from him.

Chiang Yen-shih is regarded as the representative of Party Headquarters. His background is also that of a bureaucrat-technician and his ideological attitude is fairly enlightened and enterprising, but his actual power, similarly, does not enable him to use his post to coordinate affairs. Chao Tzu-ch'i, secretary general of the Central Policy Review Board (specially charged with coordinating relations between the Executive Yuan and the National Assembly) is handicapped in many aspects and knows the same predicaments that Chinag Yen-shih and Sun Yun-hsuan face.

Sung Ch'ang-chih has a good background of military education and also comprehensive experience of official posts in the military. From being

commander-in-chief of the navy, he was appointed chief of the general staff and later promoted to minister of national defense. Although his post is high and his power great, he is gentle and cultivated and has an elegant demeanor. However, Minister Sung does not have a deep grounding in other systems of the national armed forces--like the army, the air force, joint services, and political warfare--and it is doubtful that he will be able to garner much support in the future.

Wang Shen has been in the military's political warfare profession for as long as 30 years, and his pupils and disciples can be said to fill the armed forces. He is a military personage who draws broad comment, and is quite well known in the country and abroad. ASIA WEEK recently carried a photograph of the President's Office and put General Wang's photograph in the upper right corner, giving rise to unlimited speculation by people.

Public figures within the country and abroad often think of Wang Sheng as a mysterious, terrifying figure. In order to improve this bad image, scholars who have returned to the country frequently receive an invitation from Wang Sheng to a dinner party where he can chat with them.

It is said that on one occasion when Ch'en Ju-hsi had returned to Taiwan and was having an ordinary conversation with Wang Sheng, General Wang asked Miss Ch'en: "What do recognize and identify with?" Miss Ch'en replied: "I recognize the land, its people, and its culture." Wang Sheng immediately stopped her and said: "Wrong, wrong. You should recognize the democratic politics." Ch'en Ju-hsi, both embarrassed and touched, embraced General Wang to show her respect. Last year Chang Hsu-cheng returned to the country, and when he was lecturing at Taiwan University he also pointed out that he "felt" that General Wang had extremely firm democratic convictions. Are Wang Sheng's "extremely firm democratic convictions" of the "Chinese type" or the "Western type"? Intrinsically, this question awaits test and verification, and it is an indisputable fact that there is a major discrepancy between the propaganda of the military's political warfare profession and the general understanding of the people's society. If Wang Sheng is thinking of improving his image, a good way would be for him to vigorously reform the political warfare profession. In addition, Wang Sheng's subtle relations with the personages who held actual power in the military is a point to which commentators pay close attention.

Ma Chi-chuang is a personage holding actual power who is often overlooked. His power lies in the strata of the military, intelligence, and security units, government circles, business circles, and party headquarters, with all of which he has fairly deep and good relations. Most important is the fact that he enjoys the full confidence of President Chiang Ching-kuo. Mr Ma's work style is one of reserve and reticence. In the past he has drawn little special attention from the outside world, but in the future when discussing the influence of the military secret agents who hold actual power, Mr Ma is one of the outstanding ones who must not be underestimated.

Another military member of the Central Standing Committee, Yuan Shou-ch'ien was a first-term cadet at the Whampoa Military Academy. Old and frail, he is of little significance. The power wielded by Kao K'uei-yuan, who gave up the post of national defense minister, has been replaced by that of Hao Pei-ts'un (former commander-in-chief of the army), the newly appointed chief of the general staff. Hao Pei-ts'un is one of the outstanding army generals, and his stock is steadily rising.

Here, I will mention in passing that this writer has devoted a fairly large amount of space to introducing the Central Standing Committee and its members who "have comparatively more right to speak," and I am not excessively inflating the true strength of the Central Standing Committee. In reality, the Central Standing Committee is at the least a fairly open organization, and it is easy for the people to understand and know well the members and functions of the committee. As is the case with regular political practice of parties in the West, the Central Standing Committee is a regular organization that directly influences state policies, so it is natural to give it a fair amount of attention.

#### The Future Nature of the National Security Council

As the National Security Council, the ordinary person always feels that it is something one should not talk about and it is almost a secret in itself. Basically, the National Security Council is a mechanism in the system for suppressing rebellion. A product of wartime, it was set up as an extraordinary organization. At that time it was understood that the formulation at that time of the "Outline for Organization of a National Security Council in the Period of Mobilizing for Suppression of Rebellion" was an ingenious arrangement to expand the power of the president. According to this outline, the president is the chairman of the National Security Council. When necessary, he can convene a special session of the council and "assign" presidents of the five Yuan to attend the session. After approval by the president, the resolutions adopted by the council are "according to their nature passed to the responsible organizations for implementation." If the president convenes the National Security Council, which adopts resolutions, the council takes the place of any other executive department by its broad exercise of political power.

Summing up, although the future nature of the National Security Council is the focus of attention of my fellow countrymen, they obviously are not happy to see it "blossoming in radiant splendor." We feel extreme anxiety about the excessive gains in actual power made by the military secret agents within the power core. In the final analysis, Taiwan has already had over 30 years of peace. Under the pressure of layer upon layer of major problems in domestic and foreign affairs, it is worth discussing whether there will be in the future an internal power struggle among the authorities holding office, something which could result in serious damage to the national strength.

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